The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXXXII NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 25, 1931 No. 3429

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50; and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, No. 20 Vesey Street, New York City, Cable Address: NATION, New York. British Agent of Subscriptions and Advertising, Miss Gertrude M. Cross, 23 Brunswick Square, London, W. C. 1, England.

MR. HOOVER has decided to inspect some of our colonial possessions in the West Indies. It is well that he should do so, for there are many problems in this section, particularly in Porto Rico, which must be solved, and to which a President who has examined them at first hand might be expected to give more intelligent and sympathetic consideration. The Hoover Administration has already made a definite start in that direction. Its appointee, Governor Theodore Roosevelt of Porto Rico, is reported by Ernest Gruening and other competent observers who lately h·ve visited the territory to be making marked progress in winning the confidence of the people and in dealing with some of their problems. Mr. Hoover recently transferred the administration of the Virgin Islands from the Navy to the Interior Department, and he appointed not a politician but a liberal educator, Dr. Paul Pearson of Swarthmore College, to be governor of the islands. In connection with his tour of inspection it is said that Mr. Hoover is contemplating placing the administration of all the colonial possessions under one office, presumably to be created within the Interior Department. From the standpoint of efficiency there is no reason why some of these territories should be administered by the War Department, others by the Navy, and still others by the Interior Department. Grouping them together under a civilian bureau would remove them from military rule. We question the wisdom, however, of turning them over to the Interior Department, which has already more than it can possibly handle with care and efficiency, and which of late has been subjected to increasing criticism from advocates of good government.

CALVIN COOLIDGE has come to the defense of the Senate. In his daily column he declares that "it would be dangerous for the Senate to impair further its character as a deliberative body." He goes on:

> A good measure can stand discussion. A bad bill ought to be delayed. . . . While the nature of the Senate has been changed by the direct election of its members, it has still remained a citadel of liberty because it has always contained a body of strong men who were able and willing to expose dangerous measures by adequate debate.

This is sound common sense. We should doubtless disagree with Mr. Coolidge as to the specific occasions on which the power he mentions has been most usefully exercised, and we do not believe that the Senate's greatest service consists in blocking bad legislation. We are glad, however, to see Mr. Coolidge, who more than once had his own troubles with the Senate, call attention to the great value of our one remaining deliberative body. We commend his words to that great body of uninformed public opinion which has followed the present White House lead in depreciating the Senate in order to glorify the Presidency.

THE DIFFICULTIES of international cooperation for the control of private industry are plainly indicated in the criticisms of the Chadbourne plan of sugar marketing made by Earl D. Babst, chairman of the board of directors of the American Sugar Refining Company, which is heavily interested in Cuban sugar. Mr. Babst points out that the Chadbourne plan limits Cuban production in 1931 to 3,122,000 tons, against an output of 4,671,000 tons in 1930, 5,156,000 in 1929, and an average of about 4,800,000 tons over the past six years. Restrictions on Cuban exports to the United States under the plan will prevent Cuba from selling in its "normal" market in 1931 much more than half its average crop, and will mean, Mr. Babst maintains, a p rmanent loss of markets to Cuba, resulting in "a radical destruction of property rights." It is on just such difficulties as this that previous restriction schemes have broken down. "Nationalism everywhere," says Mr. Babst, "in its effort to save local high-cost producers is destroying the producer in low-cost fields, even in Cuba, whose soil and climate are ideal for sugar production." He urges a reestablishment of free marketing and the promotion of low production costs in order to put the Cuban industry again on a sound footing. The problems of international economic control are vastly more difficult than is generally realized, and their successful solution involves a far wider recognition than is yet common of the advantages of international division of labor. If the other countries do not want cheap Cuban sugar, no one can oblige them to take it, but Mr. Chadbourne and his associates certainly have their work cut out for them.

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A RETURN TO SANITY is indicated in the airplane-manufacturing industry, which was expanded beyond all reason in the mad days of 1928 and 1929. After the Lindbergh flight to Paris in 1927 aviation went mad, and during the next two years every sort of publicity device known to the modern public-relations counsel helped make the public "air-minded," smoothing the way for the industrious salesman of aviation securities, good, bad, and indifferent. New plants multiplied, and there was wild talk of quantity production, as though the airplane was soon to become as common as the automobile. Of course, the bubble had to burst. In 1929 the principal aviation concerns turned out 6,034 machines—many more than could be sold; last year they produced 3,224 planes, of which 2,514 were for civil use. It is a good thing that the days of ballyhoo in this new industry are over for the time being, at least. The art of flying continues to make progress, though its most substantial achievements are not necessarily those which receive the most attention in the press. The manufacturing end of the business is gradually getting down to a reasonable industrial and financial basis, and there is reason to look for solid and substantial progress now that the industry not only has its wings in the air but has its feet on the ground.

THE DECREE of the District Court of St. Paul giving the government immediate possession of the St. Paul post office which was recently acquired by condemnation proceedings has been affirmed by the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals in Kansas City, Judge Kimbrough Stone presiding. The government, it will be recalled, has been paying $120,000 a year on a long-term contract for a property appraised by a commission of disinterested viewers at $317,502, and awarded to the government at slightly more than that amount. Judge Stone in his opinion held that this "outrageous rental" gave the lessors every possible reason to delay the ultimate determination of the condemnation proceedings—a fact that would seem to be self-evident. The St. Paul lease has been the subject of prolonged inquiry by Senator Blaine's committee on post-office leases. In the course of the investigation Senator Blaine clashed sharply with former Postmaster General New, attempting to show that the latter had not exercised due diligence in purchasing the property after discovering the gross disproportion between rental and selling value, an allegation which Mr. New indignantly denied. The whole question of post-office leases greatly needs clarification, and we trust that the Blaine committee will do a thorough and impartial job.

MORE THAN 9,000,000 peasant families are already associated with Russia's collective and state farms, according to a report by Commissar of Agriculture Yakovlev to the All-Union Congress in Moscow, as reported by the Associated Press. With about 12,500,000 acres in state farms this year, and some 162,500,000 in collectives, the government's scheme of collectivization is going forward with astonishing speed, and the Commissar of Agriculture exclaims in a burst of enthusiasm that the problem of agriculture in the Soviet Union is solved, though there are many and serious difficulties ahead. In this connection Commissar Yakovlev presented to the congress for approval a proposal to introduce a piece-work system into the 85,000 collectives in order to overcome the difficulty that some of the families joining the collectives do as little as possible. Thus, the headlines again announce, the Russians are turning back to capitalist principles. It would not be the first retreat that Moscow has made in the face of practical difficulties, but the Soviet Government has displayed an astonishing ability to stick to its Communist principles in spite of these retreats, which over and over again have proved only temporary. It is a matter of no slight theoretical interest, however, just how far under communism it may prove necessary and desirable to go in payment in proportion to results—certainly not to the absurd lengths that characterize our system. The Russians have one advantage over us: when they find that one thing does not work, they can try another.

STANLEY BALDWIN'S repudiation of the Conservative diehards who would boycott the Irwin-Gandhi truce and solve the great problem of India's future by ignoring India's demands and insulting her leaders apparently has the support of the majority of his party—which insures Conservative participation in the second round-table conference and clears the air generally in England. In India complications are inevitably piling up and nothing is quite clear. The most important event on the horizon is the meeting at Karachi on March 26 of the Congress Party. Rumors of a "disgruntled Nehru," a party split, and the general confusion surrounding the meaning and use of the term "purna swaraj" can best be referred to that meeting, which should bring at least clarification. In the meantime, Gandhi seeks a basis for Hindu-Moslem unity just as the All-India Moslem League, in session in Delhi, makes his task more formidable by reasserting the Aga Khan's demand—put forward in no uncertain terms as the London conference closed—for separate electorates. One could wish that the safeguards projected by Great Britain "in the interests of India" might include a provision for joint electorates—the only sensible and permanent solution. Finally, the chamber of princes assembles in Delhi in all its autocratic splendor as Gandhi, who will join them at the next round-table conference, repeats his march to the sea in the sparse costume which Winston Churchill apparently regards as a mortal insult to the Empire and himself. Of such contrasts is the Indian picture composed.

READING THE RIOT ACT to France is about what the extraordinary speech of Wilhelm Gröner, Minister of Defense, to the Reichstag Committee of Ways and Means on March 9 seems to amount to. The obligation of Germany to disarm, Herr Gröner recalled, is founded upon the provision of the Versailles treaty which makes German disarmament a preliminary to general disarmament. Germany, he declared, has fulfilled its part of the undertaking, but has France? According to André Maginot, French Minister of War, whose recent remarks Herr Gröner recited, France has "taken account of its duty to disarm." It has reduced the number of its army divisions below that of 1913, maintains fewer men with the colors, and has substituted a one-year for a three-year service. As Herr Gröner sees it, however, all this is "only a form of rearmament that has taken account of war experience and the rapid development of war technique not to decrease but to increase the efficiency of the French army." Actually, the French army is nearly as large as it was in 1912, military training has

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been intensified, the staff is one and one-half times larger, and the budget has climbed steadily to a figure, for 1931, of 18,200,000,000 francs. "Do the thousands of tanks, airplanes, and cannon, the tens of thousands of machine-guns speak the language of disarmament?" Herr Gröner thinks not. His speech makes it clear that if armaments are to continue in spite of the peace treaty, Germany is entitled to an equality with France. It would seem that Great Britain, having exerted itself to bring France and Italy to an accord over their navies, has here a further opportunity for the exercise of its diplomacy.

THE BANK OF UNITED STATES investigation in New York drags its slow length along, apparently overshadowed in public interest, for the moment at least, by the shocking revelations of corruption in the municipal courts and the police force and by the multiplying accusations of neglect and inefficiency leveled against Mayor Walker. It will be a disgrace as well as a public calamity if the responsibility for the wrecking of the bank is not exposed down to the ground. Enough has already been unearthed to show that the trails of personal responsibility lead far and in many directions—so far and so wide, indeed, as to give an air of credibility to the reports that "powerful interests," financial and political, are exerting themselves to block the investigation or render it practically fruitless. The position of Joseph A. Broderick, superintendent of the State Banking Department, has become peculiarly unenviable as his connection with the bank has been shown up, and it will take a very clear body of evidence to convince the stockholders and depositors of the bank that he has not been grossly negligent in safeguarding their interests. In the present situation in New York it is out of the question to think of doing only one thing at a time. The same forces that are organizing the revolt against the mayor, the courts, and the police should see to it that the bank inquiry is not allowed to slacken.

THERE IS A CLASS of persons honestly convinced that most contemporary masterpieces were stolen by hook or crook from the disregarded efforts of their own pens. One cannot know, of course, whether or not to reckon among these Miss Georges Lewys, author of "The Temple of Pallas Athene," who is now bringing suit against Eugene O'Neill in the sum of $2,000,000 for plagiarism in the writing of "Strange Interlude." Miss Lewys quotes examples of verbatim similarity between the two works. These consist of lines like: "I must become a mother."—"You must become a mother." "He is a weakling."—"He is a weakling." "I have been sadly disillusioned."—"I would be disillusioned." "Old Fox."—"Old Fox." From the newspaper accounts it is impossible to determine which author wrote which line. Nor does it greatly matter. It is obvious to any simple person not engaged in conducting a lawsuit, and hence bound by certain rules, that these are similarities of the most trivial and meaningless sort. Alleged similarities of plot are shown to have been used in many other works—for example, in Mr. Philip Barry's play "Tomorrow and Tomorrow," plagiarized from the Bible and now playing unchallenged in New York. Mr. O'Neill deposes that he never saw a copy of Miss Lewys's work. But however the suit is decided, he will have had to spend considerable time and money in defending it. Meanwhile Miss Lewys and her book, which was perhaps not too widely known, is getting a handsome amount of free, full-column newspaper advertising. That being the case, let us confess that our sympathy is with Mr. O'Neill. And when we think how Miss Lewys could have cleaned up on the Bard of Avon, if she had been, by any chance, the author of all his stolen plots, we tremble for any author, the more in danger as he is eminent and admired.

WHEN JOSEPH POTTER COTTON, Undersecretary of State, died in Baltimore on March 10 the State Department lost not only a capable executive officer, but also a force for sanity and stability such as the department had not had for many years. Undersecretary Cotton was intellectually honest and genuinely liberal. He accepted none of the prevailing principles and policies of the State Department merely because they were based upon precedent or had functioned fairly effectively for a number of years. He insisted upon a reexamination of every problem that came before him and was further insistent that the solution of each problem must be based upon its individual merits. It is yet too early to measure or fully appreciate the extent of his influence upon American diplomacy; it must be considered that other persons had a hand in the recent liberalization of American policy in Haiti, Nicaragua, and elsewhere in the Caribbean area; nevertheless, his was the guiding hand in much of the work that the Hoover-Stimson Administration has been undertaking in that section. Moreover, his personal influence was felt throughout the State Department. Washington newspaper correspondents report that his personality worked as a leaven even in the ultra-conservative, tradition-bound Latin American Division of the department. Finally, critics of American foreign policy whose opinions were sound and facts substantial could always obtain a hearing from Joseph Cotton, although other officials were inclined to turn these critics away as cranks. Among other reasons, we regret that Mr. Cotton should have died before his influence could be brought to bear on the Russian question.

WE EXTEND A HEARTY WELCOME to Dr. Judah L. Magnes, chancellor of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem. During the black years of the war this modern prophet made no compromise with the forces of falsehood and hatred, and the soul-searching days of the massacres of 1929 showed that his spirit is still incapable of entertaining any thought of malice or revenge. His abounding energy is now devoted to the task of building up a great Hebrew seat of learning at Jerusalem, to hold aloft the torch of Jewish culture and to serve as a center of better mutual understanding among the people of all races and religions in the little land whose history is so closely linked with East and West alike. "Are the Jews," asks Dr. Magnes, "with their rich background, to say something more in the course of their history? Have they any life left to them? Any intellectual strength? Has Jerusalem, the sacred city, any more to say?" To these questions his own thought and work are answer enough. He may be assured of a warm welcome in his native land on the part of every lover of learning and peace and understanding and good-will among men.

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Progressivism Awakes

IN Washington the Progressives and their economic and social advisers have met, talked at great length, and adjourned. It is yet too early to measure the full value of their conference, or to take stock of all its potential results. It is too early to say that the Progressives have at last risen to the grave emergency confronting the country, but in any case the Washington conference did show clearly that they, alone among the various major political groups, are seriously concerned with the economic crisis, and are desirous that something shall be done, not only to relieve the present widespread suffering, but to repair the defects in our economic and social machinery that have brought about this suffering.

Although it was announced that only one question was to be considered at the conference, that of laying the groundwork for a legislative program to be undertaken at the next session of Congress, in fact two problems presented themselves to the Washington meeting. Of these, the legislative program was the lesser, notwithstanding it was undoubtedly of more immediate importance. But the larger problem sprang out of the need for arousing the public conscience against the shameless abandonment of the American people by its present political, industrial, and financial leadership, and out of the necessity for instilling in the vast inert masses of the people a greater degree of confidence than they have had in Progressive leadership and ideas. The conference achieved something, at least, toward these ends. Even if it had served no other purpose, it called the attention of the public sharply, if only for the brief space of a few days, to the scope and seriousness of the problems before the country, and indicated something of the willingness and capacity of the Progressives to deal with this situation. Whether the Progressive group can hold popular confidence, and whether they can answer the questions they themselves put before the people in the conference, only time will tell. If they fail, and if the depression continues much longer (and most of their expert advisers believed prosperity would be long in returning), the Progressives will unquestionably be swept aside and some stronger, and perhaps more radical, group will arise to challenge the present political and economic overlordship of the country.

However that may be, the Washington Progressives, at last stirred into action, have finally taken the step which should have been taken before the opening of the last session of Congress. Further, it must be conceded that the Washington meeting had an unusual significance. A major political conference has been held to deal, not with political problems as such, but with economic and social problems stripped of their political aspects. For the first time a body of political realists has frankly and unashamedly challenged, not the Republican and Democratic parties, but the system that these parties represent and defend. Speaker after speaker, whether politician or expert, radical or conservative, arose and defined the enemy by name; they said little or nothing of Republicans and Democrats; they concentrated their fire on the "system" and on "capitalism." Here is a portent for the immediate future that the Jim Watsons cannot dismiss with their sneers, and that the Herbert Hoovers cannot ignore with their superior silences. Had the conferees been Communists or theoretical Socialists, the Washington meeting might have deserved only passing attention, but they were not; they included practical politicians actually in office, well-known economists upon whom even the capitalists occasionally call for advice, university professors of substantial standing, social workers of international importance, conservative labor leaders who are finally beginning to realize the falsehood and futility of their alliance with the capitalist-entrepreneur class. Their challenge was born out of reality, and not out of vague doctrines. Their message in effect was a warning to the Hoovers, Mellons, Youngs, Schwabs, Insulls, and others that capitalism as at present constituted is being seriously questioned, that the Progressives are prepared to do what they can to rebuild the capitalist structure so that it may be of benefit to the people as a whole and not simply to a restricted few, and that the alternative to Progressive rule may easily be socialism or communism.

Ominous as it may appear at first glance, this was the real message of the Washington conference. The Progressives have not yet established their capacity to solve the problems they discussed. It was not to be expected that forceful leadership and a balanced program should spring at once out of this meeting. The next twelve months will determine whether the potential leadership shown in the conference is strong enough to exert itself effectively, and whether out of the present beginnings there can be developed a genuine and workable program. In the direction of a return to representative government and on the tariff and power questions the conference made some progress; the relatively radical proposals to stabilize industry and remedy unemployment were almost unanimously approved; but on the farm-relief question (and it must not be forgotten that this problem is no less important than the unemployment and power questions) the speakers for the most part came forward with the same old quack remedies. After hearing the present tariff system ably and justifiably denounced as a dole for industry, Senator Borah and others urged the adoption of the export-debenture plan and similar schemes on the ground that the farmers, too, should be subsidized. Other errors of omission and commission could be cited, but the detailed discussion and criticism of a legislative program is a task for the coming months—a task to which the Progressive leaders and their advisers, we assume, will be giving earnest attention. Let them, however, beware lest they go into the next Congress with a program that is nothing but a bundle of resolutions and good intentions. Their program must be put into the form of draft legislation; it must take the shape of definite measures to be introduced into the House or Senate, upon which they are all agreed in advance of the convening of Congress. If they can publicly unite, say at another conference to be held in the autumn, upon concrete bills ready for the Congressional hopper, they will go far toward fusing behind them the public opinion necessary to put their legislative program into effect.

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New York's Shame

NEW YORK CITY, it appears at last, is not wholly dead to civic decency. In November, 1929, after four years' experience of the existing administration, it reelected James J. Walker as mayor by a plurality of half a million votes. In so doing the citizens of the metropolis gave their approval to a management of their affairs that has rarely been surpassed in its inefficiency and cynical disregard of the ordinary decencies of government. About the only interpretation that it was possible to put on their action was that they did not care. As the year 1930 passed, with its progressive revelations of rottenness in one branch of public administration after another, yet with no effective public protest, it seemed as though the city had lost all capacity for indignation at civic betrayal. The newspapers published sensational stories of the demoralization of courts, of police, of bureaus and offices throughout the city administration. All such charges the Mayor met with meaningless gestures. Nothing more seemed to be required in view of the indifference or the cynical amusement displayed by the ordinary citizen. Meanwhile the exigencies of partisan politics at Albany, the political needs of a governor anxious to be President and eager not to offend Tammany unduly, the maneuvers of a Republican organization no less corrupt than Tammany—all combined to prevent the initiation of any attack from up the river.

But at last the storm clouds of public wrath began gathering. The city began to be stirred by successive quick disclosures of court and police participation in the "framing" of women on charges of prostitution. Then came the brutal murder of Vivian Gordon to insure her silence—a crime that served to enkindle the indignation that a long train of offenses scarcely less flagitious had failed to arouse, and at last there is arising from important groups a strong demand for a sweeping investigation of the whole intolerable situation in the city government. The Governor has finally acted in one instance, appointing Justice Seabury to investigate charges made by the City Club against District Attorney Crain with a view to his removal. The Society for the Prevention of Crime has appealed to the Governor and the legislature to give Justice Seabury full power for a city-wide investigation, and specifically for an inquisition of Mayor Walker's office, but unfortunately it has not presented specific charges against the city's executive head. The New York City Congregational Church Association, the Presbyterian Union of New York, and the New York City Federation of Churches have all voiced a demand for a sweeping city-wide investigation, as have also the New York Board of Trade and the United Neighborhood Houses of New York. A Committee of One Thousand under the chairmanship of W. J. Schieffelin is forming to aid in pushing such an investigation. The City Affairs Committee, under the chairmanship of John Haynes Holmes, announces its purpose to formulate specific charges against the Mayor and compel the Governor to face the issue of instituting removal proceedings.

In the face of such a gathering storm, Mayor Walker, figuratively speaking, lights a Murad and lights out for California, declaring that he will be back shortly. A few days earlier he had summoned a group of social workers to the City Hall to help him get rid of vice and maintain New York's reputation "as being the cleanest, most moral city in the world"! Confessing himself "more or less shocked" at the stories of corruption in the courts and the police force, the Mayor characteristically left the meeting before anyone had a chance to suggest what to do. His present action in leaving the city at a time when he is actually threatened with formal charges is a fitting climax to a career of irresponsibility hard to match in the annals of New York. We regret it if the Mayor is ill, but his place today is in New York, where Norman Thomas is declaring: "His administration and his office have been incompetent, ineffective, and futile so far as concerns the needs of New York as opposed to the needs of Tammany and Tammany office-holders." There is the whole thing in a nutshell, and we cannot hope too strongly that the aroused conscience of New York will insist on the most rigid investigation of the official acts of its chief executive as well as of the gang of looters and bandits in office whom he has allowed to prey upon the city. If ever charges of neglect against a public officer demanded investigation, we believe they demand it today in the case of Mayor Walker. But any real investigation must plow deep; for it concerns not simply minor courts and policemen who prey on women, not merely subordinate officials in city bureaus, not merely the highest officers in borough and in city administration. It must extend to the political operations of the banks, the building industry, the important commercial concerns, the thousands of great business interests that profit from maintaining a government of the type that disgraces New York today. Let us have an investigation that will show the system in its exact operation. Honest business and honest government are entitled to vindication, and the whole existing growth of inefficiency and corruption must be rooted out.

The Naval Agreement

NOBODY except naval experts and a few government officials is likely to pay much attention to the statistical parts of the British memorandum in which the terms of the Franco-Italian naval agreement are set out. Figures of tonnage or gun caliber are of slight significance to the average man or woman, and even the experts do not always agree about what the figures mean. What most people will want to know is whether the agreement really puts an end to competitive naval building by France and Italy; whether, if it does, it also disposes of the disputed issue of parity between the navies of those two Powers, and whether it paves the way to the general reduction and limitation of armaments of all kinds which an international conference is scheduled to undertake in February, 1932.

The first of these questions may, with some qualification, be answered in the affirmative. It will be recalled that the refusal of France and Italy to accept the tonnage limitations of the London naval treaty because of their dispute about parity resulted in the inclusion in the treaty of a safeguarding provision which permitted either of the three signatory Powers—the United States, Great Britain, and Japan

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—to increase its tonnage in case the Powers that did not sign increased theirs. The elaborate programs of competitive building which France and Italy have prosecuted made it reasonably certain that Great Britain, at least, would feel compelled to resort to this so-called escalator clause, and it is this danger that the accord recently concluded appears to have averted. France and Italy will continue to build, but the building will be according to a scale and not competitive. The scale, it must be admitted, is liberal, and the British Admiralty is reported as thinking that the tonnage balance will still dip unduly against Great Britain, but we have the government's word for it that the escalator clause will not be invoked.

The parity issue, on the other hand, has been only postponed, to come up again at the latest in 1936 when the London treaty will regularly be reconsidered, but quite probably in 1932 when the whole subject of disarmament is before the international conference. France, meantime, will enjoy the superiority of 150,000 tons more or less upon which it has insisted, the principal difference being that the distribution of tonnage among the various categories of vessels will be somewhat more to Italy's advantage. France can thus claim that it has surrendered nothing important, and Italy can profess satisfaction in the prospect of a fleet better adapted to its special needs, notwithstanding the continued inferiority in global tonnage. The fundamental issue, however, remains almost exactly where it was when Mr. Henderson and Mr. Alexander began their negotiations at Paris and Rome.

Has the outlook for the disarmament conference, then, been improved? In one important respect it has. If, when the conference met, France and Italy had been engaged in a competitive struggle, the former to maintain its naval superiority and the latter to achieve parity, the chances of agreement upon any plan of general naval reduction or limitation would have been appreciably dimmed, while if the navies proved unmanageable the land and air armaments could hardly have been dealt with at all. There is encouragement in the willingness of France and Italy to accept the British good offices and temporarily drop a controversy which was setting all Europe by the ears and affecting public opinion in the United States and Japan. The general subject can now be discussed without at the same time watching the progress of a race. The concession is by no means entirely satisfactory, and it does not, in and of itself, contribute in the slightest degree to the solution of the parity problem, but it nevertheless has the advantage of not complicating the matter by setting it in terms of out-and-out competition building.

The hope that Italy and France, having been helped to an accord at one point, may find a way of harmonizing their differences at another is probably the chief reason for the added interest that is being shown in the preparations for the conference next year. There is certainly need of all the cheerfulness that can be mustered. What with armies, navies, air forces, chemical warfare, budgetary control, parity, offensive and defensive alliances, and all the other issues that war involves, the conference may well turn out to be the most important international meeting since the peace conference at Paris, for the task before it is nothing less than a sweeping reorganization of world policy in one of the most important aspects of international relations.

The Advertiser's Art

As the advertising expert, with his "psychology," "science," and technical jargon, increases in prestige and affluence the outsider begins to wonder whether there has been any corresponding increase in the effectiveness of advertising itself. That it has made enormous advances in attractiveness could hardly be denied by anyone who reads such a magazine as the *Saturday Evening Post*, with its handsome color reproductions. But how about its effectiveness for its supposedly primary if not sole function of creating a demand for goods?

The truth seems to be that advertising is becoming less a direct device for "selling the stuff" and more and more a game played for its own sake. In the old paleolithic days of Carter's Little Liver Pills and Smith Brothers' Cough Drops, the product at least got the center of the stage; now it is being shoved farther and farther in the corner to make room for other things, chief of which is the pretty girl. A glance around a single subway car reveals twelve advertisements in each of which the main emphasis is on a pretty girl, with an entirely secondary emphasis on the article ostensibly advertised. Included in the posters is a cigarette advertisement in which a pretty girl gazes into a mirror and is neither carrying nor smoking a cigarette; a coffee advertisement in which the center of attraction is a pretty girl with part of her breast discreetly exposed; a shampoo advertisement in which the center of attraction is a pretty girl with a good deal more of her breast indiscreetly exposed; and an advertisement for a corn remover in which the emphasis is thrown on the colored photograph of a lady in step-ins that expose as much as the law allows.

Newspaper advertisements reveal the same situation ten times multiplied, though often with more reason. Two hundred women in various stages of dress and undress walk through the columns. Perhaps the most striking illustration is the series of advertisements being run for a well-known cigarette. They occupy about two-thirds of a page; the space is almost completely dominated by a pretty girl in a bathing suit cut very low in the back. At the top one learns the general truth that "Sunshine Mellows." An alert observer may discover at the bottom what is being advertised.

That such an advertisement does not sell cigarettes we do not contend. We do feel confident that if the same space were swept clean, and the simple name of the cigarette —and nothing else—printed in large type there, the advertisement would be five times as effective in reminding the consumer of the product and presumably getting him to buy it. But an advertising agency that used such a simple device could never convince its clients that it was using "psychology" and all the other arcana of its craft.

Advertising, in truth, seems to be going sex-mad. The pretty girl is emphasized always at the expense of the product; instead of drawing attention to it, she acts as a lightning rod, attracting and channeling attention away from it. What advertisers chiefly suggest is not that a certain cigarette or corn remover is desirable, but that a beautiful girl is. This ought to comfort those who think that America puts business before everything. Business now exists merely to glorify American Womanhood.

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The Conference Must Succeed

By VISCOUNT CECIL

THE Disarmament Conference of February, 1932, already dominates the horizon of international politics. I make no apology for reverting to it. It is one of those crucial events in the history of the world that must either succeed or fail. It cannot just be a succession of long-drawn inconclusive discussions which are a matter of indifference to the life of nations. Indeed, I believe that the consequence of failure would be so catastrophic to all who read these lines that I beg them to join with me now in foreseeing them, and next in striving to prevent them.

Let us consider what failure means. First, the conference might break up without reaching any agreement. It is perhaps unlikely that human folly would go as far as this. It ought to be inconceivable that the representatives of sixty "civilized" nations should meet to settle the form of a treaty which they all professedly desire and should separate without even a partial agreement. But remembering the incredible follies of 1914 one must admit that internationally anything may happen.

Even if this supreme stupidity is avoided, there may still be failure. The conference might result in a mere codification of armaments at their present level. There are statesmen and writers, even in some of the most enlightened states, who calmly contemplate such a result as this. They continue to talk of the impossibility of reducing their present armaments, and glibly announce their intention of writing the existing figures for their armies, navies, air forces, and military budgets into the Disarmament Convention. That certainly means failure. Even if more were accomplished, if the mountain, having been in travail for months and months at Geneva with no advantage to anyone except the hotel-keepers, were to bring forth a mouse in the form of some negligible reduction on the part of the great military Powers, that would not meet the case.

Do not let us forget the main reason for disarmament. No doubt it is desirable on many grounds, economic, political, and social. But they are not much more urgent now than they have always been. If they stood alone, the issue might perhaps have been postponed. The consideration that forces us to definite and immediate action is "scrupulous respect for treaty obligations." The pledge originally given by M. Clemenceau on behalf of the Allied and Associated Powers, reinforced by Article 8 of the various treaties of peace, repeated in the final article of the Locarno treaties, and constantly reiterated in resolutions and declarations in the Assembly of the League of Nations, still awaits fulfilment. It is chiefly to give effect to those pledges that, after prolonged preparations, the conference of next February really has been called. If these pledges are to be treated as "scraps of paper," the whole basis on which the organization of peace rests will be undermined.

That is a result which none of us can contemplate with equanimity. Some special consequences will follow directly. We must expect that the demand to rearm by the defeated nations will become insistent. The protests of the present German government, a government of moderation, even the demands of the Nazis and the Stahlhelm are as nothing compared with the uprising of ordinary patriotic opinion in Germany in favor of a recovery of her military position which will occur if the Allies definitely fail to redeem their promises at the Geneva conference of 1932. The very least that can happen will be a renewal of the race in armaments under the worst possible conditions. I know I shall be told that legally the obligation to disarm will still bind the ex-enemy Powers. The point is arguable but not important. Such an obligation, even if it exists, could not in the circumstances be enforced without violence. It would lack sufficient moral validity to secure the support of general world opinion—the only alternative to material coercion; and material coercion means war, with the sympathies of other nations hopelessly divided. Nor is Germany the only country affected. There are Hungary, Austria, and Bulgaria also to be considered, with Russia ever on the watch to seize an opportunity to break up the system of "capitalist" civilization.

It is then no exaggeration to say that the most probable political consequences of an unsuccessful Disarmament Conference next year are that Europe will fall into two armed forces and that the competition in armaments will revive—competition not merely between individual states, but what is far worse, between two powerful groups of states maneuvering for superiority. It is only too likely that this most dangerous development will be accompanied by withdrawals from the League of Nations, a policy of despair of which we have quite recently had a forewarning. I do not believe for a moment that the League, once more tainted with partiality, and with its moral prestige ruined by failure to achieve one of the chief tasks for which it was created, would very long survive. Nothing but the fading reaction against the last war would then stand between Europe and another and far more terrible fratricide.

Let no one imagine from this baneful prophecy that I would encourage or condone any one of the national policies which I foresee as the logical consequence of a collapse of the Geneva conference. On the contrary, I believe that a policy of competition in armaments is always wicked and always mad; I believe that it would be of no real advantage to Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria to rearm. It would only mean increase in taxation, a waste of national resources, a turning aside of the thoughts of the manhood of the nation from the essential work of peaceful reconstruction, and a definite lessening of national safety owing to the rivalries which it would provoke. But national pride is still stronger than reason: it is with that dynamic force that we have to reckon in considering the urgent necessity of achieving disarmament.

Succeed we must. The alternative is too sinister for any man or woman of good sense and good-will to contemplate. And there is a way to succeed. Let those who share the convictions which I have expressed refuse to be sidetracked by expert objections about the technical value of this particular form of armament or that, and concentrate upon the one form of reduction of armaments which the ordinary

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citizen can understand and which comes within the scope of every parliament. Let them demand a definite cut in the total military expenditure of the Powers represented at the conference. I believe that it is perfectly reasonable and possible—with dogged perseverance—to achieve at the 1932 conference an all-round reduction of 25 per cent in the military budgets of those countries which did not have reductions imposed upon them by the treaties. This would be a first step—but a considerable step—toward that international equality which all serious students of European affairs foresee and accept. Further reduction would have to be considered after the first convention expires.

I do not suggest that by itself this will altogether meet the demands for equality put forward by Germany and other Powers. Nor have I forgotten the French case for security as a condition of disarmament. But I would venture to ask those who insist on this condition not to forget the history of the last four years. Not only has an immense advance been made in the moral safeguards of peace by the acceptance of the Optional Clause, the signatures of the General Act, and above all the universal ratification of the Pact of Paris, but much has been done in the direction of material security. There are the Locarno treaties by which the signatories bind themselves to guarantee with the whole of their national forces the settlements there set out. There is the Treaty of Financial Assistance which in return for disarmament sets up a special machinery to give financial assistance to a state attacked. There are the Assembly resolutions giving precision to the steps which may be taken to safeguard peace under Article 11 and the proposals now pending to give to those resolutions the authority of an international treaty. Finally, there are the suggested amendments to the Covenant designed to make the provisions of the Pact of Paris part of the League jurisprudence and thereby close the celebrated gap in Article 15.

Surely the cumulative effect of these international acts is considerably to strengthen the already wide obligations of the Covenant. Is it not time for the advocates of security to show their sincerity by making a real advance in the direction of disarmament? That certainly is the clear opinion of my country expressed by Mr. Henderson at the last Assembly, when he laid it down that we could undertake no further obligations for increasing security except in return for disarmament.

That then is the choice before us: failure of the conference and a return to European anarchy and chaos; success and a definite advance on the road which leads to international organization and peace.

Progressives Turn to the Left

By MAURITZ A. HALLGREN

Washington, March 13

ONE hundred and forty years ago the King of France was put to death by the Jacobins. He had outlived his usefulness and had lost his power. When the guillotine chopped off the head of the sixteenth Louis Capet on that day in January, 1793, more than a man died; with him went an entire system of government. Some days previously the radicals of Paris, sitting in convention, voted to confirm what everyone knew, that the system represented by Louis XVI was no longer of service to France. Later they arose one by one to decide whether the symbol of this system should be preserved or forever abolished; the majority elected death for the king. Here in Washington these last two days a group of some of the most intelligent men and women in the country have been sitting in judgment upon the politico-economic system that now dominates the United States. One by one these persons arose to explain what is apparent to all observant Americans, that our system has ceased to serve the people as a whole. They left the impression upon their hearers that unless something is soon done to overhaul or rebuild this system in effective fashion, another and more violently radical group would in the near future be found voting to put capitalism to death.

It has been characteristic of past periods of depression in the United States that labor leaders have temporarily abandoned their economic weapons in the hope of finding solutions for labor's problems in the political field. At the same time the intellectuals have invariably attempted to seize such opportunities for the purpose of forcing their socialistic or other panaceas upon both the working people and the politicians. Even in more recent years the various groups have refused to make the sacrifices necessary to successful cooperation. In the Progressive conferences of the immediate past, for example, politics and political views have dominated; more emphasis has been placed on potential ways and means of turning the major parties out of office than upon the economic and social problems awaiting solution.

In the conference which closed last night this situation was almost completely reversed. Politics for the sake of politics was entirely suppressed; utopianism and demagoguery raised but a feeble voice; the intellectuals got down to the bedrock of reality in putting forward their various proposals; the labor leaders confessed that they had more to gain by working in harness with other progressive and liberal groups than by continuing their *mésalliance* with capitalism, and the farm leaders finally acknowledged the close relationship between the interests of the farmers and those of the workers in the industrial centers. Summed up, the conference was the first ever held in this country that was political in form and yet wholly economic in content. It forsook the traditional American way of trying to apply political solutions to economic problems, and frankly adopted the Russian method of attempting to deal with such problems by applying purely economic standards and formulas. To this extent progressive thought in America as represented by the Washington conference has swung decidedly to the left, has become almost revolutionary.

Again and again this note was sounded by conference speakers. Although they spoke in the shadow of the White House (the conference hall being only a block away), very few of the thirty or forty persons who addressed the con-

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ference even so much as mentioned the Republican or Democratic parties or referred to Mr. Hoover in a political sense. Similarly, very few of them hesitated to denounce frankly and boldly the "capitalists" and the "present economic system." Senator Borah charged that the depression "has been accentuated and deepened by a coterie of capitalists who inaugurated the most vicious era of speculation and inflation of which the world gives any record." Senator Norris declared that "partisanship is one of the greatest evils of the democratic form of government." Mayor Frank Murphy of Detroit demanded that the federal government awaken to its economic responsibilities in the present crisis. Robert P. Scripps, millionaire newspaper publisher, said he was opposed to socialism, but nevertheless demanded "a much wider distribution of wealth through wages or otherwise." Senator La Follette talked, not of the deficiencies in our party system, but of "the breakdown of industrial, financial, and political leadership."

Among the technical experts, of course, there was not even a suggestion of partisan politics. Leo Wolman, the economist, did not say that this or that political device, or this or that political party, offers the best hope of reducing and preventing unemployment; instead, he outlined the problem with clarity and precision, and was most firm in declaring that it can be solved only by compulsory legislation founded upon practical economics. Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and a man who has been described as the foremost labor statesman in the world today, told of his success in creating an unemployment-insurance plan in the clothing industry. In other industries, however, "the powerful leaders have shirked their duty," and, therefore, "it is now the task of the government to step in . . . to save the country from drifting into further chaos." Fred W. Sargent, president of the Chicago and North Western Railway, urged the adoption of a realizable farm program based upon "known economic laws." He suggested that to let the agricultural depression run along unchecked until the farmers "are starved out of business" would be "a cruel solution of the problem." Father John A. Ryan, the noted Catholic humanitarian, offered the not altogether new, but nevertheless radical, suggestion that the wealthier citizens be taxed to finance a program for the relief of the unemployed through adoption of a huge public-works program. Stuart Chase, asserting that "the times call for the boldest economic thinking this republic has ever done," suggested the creation of an economic general staff.

Thus it went all down the line. Charles A. Beard, the historian, Donald R. Richberg, the authority on public utilities, W. T. Rawleigh, the tariff expert, Rudolph Spreckels, of the famous sugar family, Fred Brenckman, of the National Grange, an outstanding farm leader, and the many others who addressed the meeting were almost unanimously agreed that the present struggle was above and beyond the strength of the currently dominant political organizations to cope with, that the question stood outside the range of partisan activities, and that the individualism of Mr. Hoover and his friends had utterly failed in the crisis. It was emphasized time and again that in the opinion of the men and women attending the conference the government, as distinguished from the politicians who make up the government, must be forced to take action in the economic field, which heretofore has been left for the most part to private initiative and control. They were, in brief, advocating a course of action that stops but little short of undisguised socialism. The legislative recommendations of three of the committees appointed by the conference followed, though less noticeably, the same tendency.

The conference did not adopt a definite and final program, but five committees were appointed to work at this task through the spring and summer. Senator La Follette's committee on unemployment and industrial stabilization was divided into six sections for the purposes of this study. Senator Costigan's committee on the tariff made a preliminary report to the conference, and is expected to draw up definite measures to submit to the next Congress. Senator Cutting's committee on representative government offered various recommendations to increase the control of Congress over policy and law-making, to democratize the election of Presidents, to simplify legislative procedure, and to liberalize the rules of the House of Representatives. Other committees which will work through the next several months in formulating a program include one on the power question, headed by Senator Norris, and one on agriculture, of which Senator Borah is to be the chairman. In order to coordinate the efforts of these five bodies an informal committee of political and lay Progressives will meet from time to time in Washington during the summer. In this sense it may be said that the Progressives have at last succeeded in setting up a continuing organization, although the organization may prove too loosely woven together to be effective. However, the Progressives adjourned with the feeling that in view of the deep inroads the recent decade of dazzling but deceptive prosperity had made into liberal strength and spirit they, the Progressives, should consider themselves fortunate to have been able to make as much progress as they did in the Washington conference.

One thing that the conference failed to bring out was a single forceful leader. Nevertheless, even here certain marked tendencies must be recorded. The meeting was almost entirely in the hands of a group of elder statesmen, and it was these men, politicians and heads of national organizations, who did most of the talking and who pleaded most earnestly for action. The younger men, including many of the technical experts, remained in the background, coming forward not with demands but with plans for action when they were called upon. Many of the older speakers recognized, Senator Norris openly and the others by inference, that they must soon retire in favor of youth, in favor of the Hillmans, Wolmans, Chases, and La Follettes, who know where they want to go and just how to get there. These men might be said to be already the leaders of the Progressive movement in that they are furnishing it with the ideas necessary to keep it moving forward. It was their suggestions and proposals and their frank discussions of the issues involved that lifted the conference out of politics and put it on a genuine and sincere economic plane. The conference was called to work out a legislative program for 1931-32, a task which can perhaps be most safely left to the older and more experienced politicians; but for the longer haul—and it must be admitted that the goal cannot be reached in a year or two—leadership must devolve upon the younger, more enthusiastic, and more energetic men. At the Washington conference these younger men revealed that they were preparing themselves for this task.

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Wisconsin's Experimental College

By ELISEO VIVAS

Madison, Wisconsin, March 6

THIS is perhaps the most inauspicious moment to write on the Experimental College of the University of Wisconsin. The day the editor of *The Nation* requested an article on it, its chairman, Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, made a motion at a regular meeting of the faculty of the College of Letters and Science, of which the Experimental College is a part, proposing that no freshman class be admitted for the next academic year. It was further proposed that a committee assess the findings of the experiment with the end in view either of continuing it or so reforming it as to abandon entirely or in part the present scheme. The probable future of the college is the subject of wild guessing in the university and throughout the State; but the opinion of the majority seems to be that the experiment will be abandoned. If Dr. Meiklejohn's motion is the first step toward discontinuing the college, one of the most important and challenging educational experiments of recent years hereby comes to an end.

The Experimental College of the University of Wisconsin, created by recommendation of the faculty of letters and science and action of the regents of the university, admitted its first freshman class in the fall of 1927. At its head was placed a man widely known for his courage and high-minded devotion to the cause of higher education in America. Dr. Meiklejohn had been highly successful as dean of Brown University for about ten years, and later had been forced to resign from the presidency of Amherst College, where he had attempted to carry out a radical educational reform.

Dr. Meiklejohn's dissatisfaction with the current practice in education springs from his belief that its aims are superficial and inadequate, that it is contented with merely imparting information to the student in a passive fashion if the student is unwilling to go himself in search of education. Students come to college to carry away information "like a load of mental furniture for the adorning and equipping of the mental chambers of their minds." Educational procedure as a rule fails to attempt a reconstruction of the individual in which imparted information fuses with his character and effects a radical change in his whole personality. Dr. Meiklejohn does not believe that intellectual improvement, scholarship, or erudition for its own sake should be the final end of education. Education must create wise and intelligent men, not merely well-informed men. For Dr. Meiklejohn is keenly conscious of the urgent need of creating an intellectual democratic leadership, and the consciousness of this need determines his values and the direction of his educational activity. He is one of that dwindling minority who still retain a genuine and effective faith in the possibilities of democracy. Therefore, contrary to current practice, which unconsciously conceives the aim of education to be the shaping of men to achieve supine conformity—adaptation is the euphemism used for the process—he sees the need of building citizens capable of accomplishing the mutual process of reshaping themselves and the environment, a process which alone can make for intelligent and successful living in a democracy. In education, he says:

> . . . our primary task is that of taking all types of young people and discovering of what they are capable. Our scheme of government, our scheme of morals, our scheme of social relations are built upon the view that all normal persons are capable of understanding. The schools of such a social scheme are pledged to develop that understanding if it can be done. A democracy has a right to make that demand upon its teachers, and if teachers give up the task without attempting it, a democracy has a right to condemn them as untrue to their responsibilities.

Two things must be noted in passing. The first is that this faith is for Dr. Meiklejohn not the expression of a rhetorical fancy, but a living, driving force, for which he has already shown himself willing to sacrifice his own personal advantage. The second is that some of the criticisms leveled at the experiment, and at the University of Wisconsin for starting it, spring from the fact that the critics are troubled by a conception of education so deep-going that it appears to the standpatter to contain tendencies subversive of the status quo. It is fitting, however, that the University of the State of Wisconsin should fearlessly foster and give every opportunity, as it has done, to such an experiment, reaffirming once again the spirit of enlightenment and academic progressivism which has always informed it.

Imbedded in his philosophy of education we find, in Dr. Meiklejohn's utterances on the subject, criticisms of the methods of teaching now in operation in American colleges. Therefore his experiment must be said to embody two aims which for the purposes of analysis must be clearly distinguished. Officially the experiment aims to project a tentative direction along which educational reforms can take place. But involved in it will be found implicit Dr. Meiklejohn's conception of the function of a liberal education—the most important aspect of the whole venture, it seems to me. It is possible to disagree with that conception and with the philosophy of life from which it grows, as the trustees of Amherst did when Dr. Meiklejohn attempted to actualize it there. And if one altogether rejects it, very little discussion of the plan is possible. On the other hand, it is possible to agree with his philosophy and to sympathize with the vision of life in which it takes roots and yet to disagree regarding the instrumentalities which Dr. Meiklejohn has devised to realize his vision. It may perhaps be contended that these instrumentalities and these aims necessarily involve each other if properly conceived; and in some cases they patently do. Criticisms of the experiment are often heard which involve the confusion of these two aims.

Purely as an experiment, "the principle by which the college is attempting to adjust the relations of teachers and pupils is that the student must do his own learning"; and some malicious wits have remarked that that has been the radical trouble with the venture. Three features the college was instructed to investigate: the methods of teaching, the content of study, and the determining conditions of under-

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graduate life. But no brief account can give an adequate idea of all the important aspects of the scheme. Emphasis is put on the individual character of the relations between teachers and pupils. There are no classes or recitations; instruction takes the form of discussion in personal conference. There are lectures, but these consist for the most part of an introduction in which a point of view is presented by the lecturer, followed by a general discussion among the students. And this contrasts with the accent put on "group life" at the college. The scheme was devised with the aim of awakening the students by placing upon them as a group the responsibility for intellectual effort, by making the group conscious of itself as an intellectual unity (a thing which in many instances has justifiably annoyed the rest of the university), and by putting the emphasis of the college years on cooperative activity.

No novelty is claimed for some of the features of the scheme. The conference method of teaching at once recalls the Oxford system of tutorials. "Group living," which is deemed an important aspect of the experiment, was to be found in most American colleges before they grew to their present monstrous size, and may still be found in some small college communities. The innovation here consists only in this —that cooperative activity along cultural lines has been more stimulated and given greater opportunity to flower than if it had sprung spontaneously and unaided from the needs of the students themselves. Another aspect, the prescribed common course of study, is still to be found in our professional schools and was found in all American colleges before the elective system came into favor. In some important respects, however, the experiment involves entirely new departures, among which the most important are the content of the curriculum for the first and second years—the study of Greek and American civilization respectively—and the teaching by non-specialists.

The question then arises of how far, considering its years of operation, the experiment can be said to have succeeded, what positive or negative results can be recorded. Regarding this question there is a wide conflict of opinion, which in some cases amounts to passionate partisanship. Hence, before a judgment of its results can be hazarded by a member of the university, two qualifications must be made. The first involves the freedom of judgment: some simple-minded liberals have taken exception to all criticism of the validity of the experiment on the ground that a judgment which does not please them is an attack on the principles of liberalism. Their attitude can be traced to the confusion between the conception of education involved in the experiment and the means adopted to secure it. The second qualification involves the kind of validity to be attached to any analysis of experiments of this sort. It must be clearly noted that such a judgment cannot claim any objective validity or comprehensiveness. So far as the writer knows, there is no satisfactory "scientific" way of determining the fruits of an educational process, especially of one which has as deep an aim as this one. The only possible way to arrive at a judgment of the experiment must be through a reflective, but none the less impressionistic observation. The writer claims to have made it. The following remarks, which only express his opinions, are the product of reflection and as far as possible of comparison of the opinions of a number of members of the faculty and of the students.

Whatever success may be claimed for the experiment from a deeper view, I believe a majority at Wisconsin and some members of the staff of the college will admit dissatisfaction with the results as an educational experiment—in the instrumental and pedagogical, not the philosophic, sense of education. The chief fault, to which all other faults it seems to me can be traced, takes rise from a divorce, if not in theory certainly in practice, between the emphasis put on vision and stimulation on the one hand and on the other—what no educational plan can afford to neglect—the business of imparting sound information and well-grounded habits of industry, thoroughness, and devotion to work. It is understood throughout the university—and I have my own personal reasons for agreeing with that impression—that during the four years of operation not enough emphasis has been put on scholastic discipline. Life at the college has been too easy for the average student, for whom the personal magnetism of its leader, undeniably great, and that of a select faculty group has not been sufficient as an incentive to work.

Interest in intellectual matters there has been; but the writer has information which confirms the wide suspicion that this interest was one which never hid successfully its dilettante temper. It is then obvious that the end in mind has not been quite accomplished. There can be no wisdom without knowledge, nor can adequate understanding of any civilization come from inadequately informed discussion. At the college too much emphasis has been put on discussion, on stimulation, and relatively to the rest of the university the student cannot be said to have made a solid gain. Now, the average student, coming from an average high school where no work habits have been inculcated in him, needs other incentives to work besides stimulation. The college has abandoned the regular form of examinations and has substituted for these a general information test and, in the form of teachers' reports drawn up at the end of the year, a subjective evaluation of the work done; it has thereby given up the only material means—whatever its defects may be—known to educators for making average students work. The student has been given full freedom and in too many cases, if he has not acquired new bad habits, has carried on those he brought from high school. Officially the claim is made that the staff knows more of the students' personal idiosyncrasies than it could know under the regular system. But if one is in close contact with the college one is led to doubt this. In personal conference as in discussion groups it is all too easy for men who place the emphasis on understanding and minimize the importance of information to deviate from the assigned topic, deriving from the discussion no small measure of pleasure, no doubt, and stimulation of a kind, but also no small measure of confusion, superficiality, and inconclusion. A clever yet lazy or uninterested student does not need to work too hard to make a good impression in discussion.

Dr. Meiklejohn has steadfastly refused to compromise with the current educational procedure. He seems to have unqualified faith in human nature. He wishes to place the responsibility altogether upon the student and stands on his principle that the only way to make him work in a really valuable way is to interest him in some task "which is so important that everybody is going to throw himself heart and soul into the doing of it." In some cases, it will be gladly admitted, he has been eminently successful. His per-

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sonality, that magnetism and deep appeal of his to the more reflective minds, has done for some students what no number of threatening "flunks" could have done, and perhaps done it better. But even some members of the staff of the college have felt that in a larger number of cases the freedom granted has worked toward a scattered picking up of smatterings of facts and, what is worse, toward fostering intellectual cocksureness in the students—the last thing Dr. Meiklejohn would wish!

Closely allied with this issue is another which I hesitate to broach because it involves a radical break between two attitudes toward life and is therefore too complex to be properly treated in the space of a paragraph—the conflict between the claims of the individual and those of society. The philosophy guiding the experiment has been interpreted to involve a conflict between the specialized pursuits of the individual in terms of culture and learning for its own sake, and desirable social ends. An identification of scholarship with the unimaginative grind that often goes by that name has led to a definite bias against the claims of true learning. This disjunction is here mentioned because it has practical consequences in the quality and matter of the education sought for. As Professor Morris Cohen has recently suggested, to abandon altogether the cultivation of "the inward landscape" (in Santayana's phrase) is to create Spartans, men poor in the fruits of the spirit; it is to abandon satisfactions and high consolations, ineffable sources of happiness, which in a period of religious disintegration are almost all that a great educated majority has to fall back on. Contemplation is one of the intensest forms of living and the vistas a man may find inwardly very often more than make up for the pleasures of activity. There is, besides, an anchorite side to the most extroverted among us. To allow it to flower rationally that we may be complete men must be one of the ends of education. Starve it by turning men into social workers, and it will satisfy itself with either inanities or mysticism, both of which are socially dangerous.

Hardly to be distinguished from this issue is the third question which I wish to discuss. It involves primarily a criticism of one of the instrumentalities devised for the experiment, although in a deeper sense it can be traced to the divorce already mentioned between learning and wisdom. The curriculum calls for the teaching of one civilization for a year, and the teaching is done by "advisers" who have in their charge rotating groups of students with whom they discuss the whole content of the civilization under study, Greek or American. The aim in view is to form "a community of learning" wherein students and teachers work shoulder to shoulder toward a common objective. As a result, the teacher has to teach either Greek or American politics, history, literature, and philosophy, and something of the history of art and science of each civilization. In the case of American civilization, the matter is made more difficult by virtue of the more technical nature of the subjects taught. The result is hardly satisfactory. The obvious weakness of the plan is that it conduces even further toward the acquisition by the student of superficial information. There are few teachers anywhere who can command the exact and encyclopedic knowledge necessary for so large an undertaking. The intellectual capacity of the staff of the Experimental College is not here in question, for it was carefully selected for the difficult task it had before itself. But, on the other hand, the college depends upon a number of younger men who, although eminently able, are not as yet specialists even in any one field. The teaching, then, has been handicapped by the fact that the "advisers" could hardly be expected to master the wide field that they were called upon to teach. Add to this that the time given to each subject is so short—three weeks to Greek philosophy in the first year and as many to science in the second—and one wonders what kind of idea the student will acquire about the civilization he is supposed to be penetrating. I must make it perfectly clear that the advisers have worked tremendously hard in an effort to acquire the competence demanded by their task, but this they have done at the cost of applying an unsparing amount of energy to it. Were it not for Dr. Meiklejohn's magic capacity of drawing devotion and religious loyalty from his associates, the scheme would have failed in this respect altogether. The upshot of all this is that the venture cannot be considered a successful experiment, for even if its results were to be deemed extraordinarily satisfactory, and this is very doubtful, the scheme could not be generally applied. It depends on intangible elements of personal leadership hard to duplicate.

Now the reason for this daring innovation of teaching by non-specialists is that one of the evils which Dr. Meiklejohn wishes to correct in American education is the widely acknowledged tendency toward overspecialization. On account of this tendency the plan has been drawn up to apply only to the first two years of college. Dr. Meiklejohn believes that these years should be dedicated to instruction of a strictly elementary character, in which the student should be confronted with the duty of acquiring a general and broad foundation. Distrusting the specialist's ability to present his subject from a broadly human point of view, and conceiving that the integration of knowledge or at least of the subject matter of education can best be accomplished by a group of men acquainted and interested in a wide field, in close intellectual communion with one another such as is not usually enjoyed by specialists, Dr. Meiklejohn has attempted a remedy that many consider more harmful than the disease it is applied to cure. To escape the evil of overspecialization and narrow scholarship which can appeal only to students of deeply determined interests and aims, he has courted the danger of superficiality. For, of course, the elementary character of the instruction of the first two years is in no way incompatible with thoroughness, exactitude, discipline, and that close-knit thinking based on sufficient facts which is demanded in every field of activity and which must be one of the fundamental aims of a plan for a liberal education.

There are many other important aspects of the Wisconsin experiment which lack of space prevents us from considering. But this article does not pretend to thoroughness, any more than to scientific objectivity and finality. The opinions here presented must be taken for what they are worth. This paper will perhaps create in some readers the impression that the results of the experiment are to be considered negative, but this is not the desired aim. Some unfavorable judgments have been recorded, mainly in respect to instrumentalities. But in any case, on the eve of its assessment and possible discontinuance in its present form, the Experimental College is generally admitted by the university to have been an eminently worth-while venture. Even if the investigating committee should find that its methods are not

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altogether applicable to the university at large, for the reasons already mentioned and others—such as the prohibitive cost which its operation on a large scale would involve—in no way could an experiment which has raised such tremendously important issues be called a failure. The college fanned into greater activity the interest—at no time dead in Wisconsin, as the inception of the college itself shows—for experiment and salutary reform. It suggested fresh points of view and has given the university added courage to try new ventures.

Rejoinder

By ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN

WHATEVER else may be said of the article by Mr. Vivas, no one connected with the Experimental College can question his first sentence. "This is," he says, "perhaps the most inauspicious moment to write on the Experimental College of the University of Wisconsin." The advisers have just been directed by the general faculty to prepare a report on their experiences and findings. While that report is being prepared we lack the authority and the information which are needed for the making of public statements about our venture. What, then, shall one do in the face of a story which seems essentially inaccurate as to facts and superficial in its analysis of problems? The situation is a very awkward one.

Under these circumstances it is evident that this brief rejoinder cannot be in the fullest sense a reply to Mr. Vivas. It cannot be in any sense a summary or an estimate of what the Experimental College is doing. Many minds must work hard and work together before those results can be achieved. However, as I read over again the advance copy which Mr. Vivas has kindly sent me, it becomes clear that one can answer him without either describing or estimating the work of the college. This statement implies, of course, that Mr. Vivas has in his argument failed to come into vital contact with either the principles or the practices which the college has followed. He has not really dealt with our problem at all. All that I shall attempt in this rejoinder is the substantiation and explanation of that statement.

Before proceeding to the argument I must express my appreciation of the personal friendliness of attitude which Mr. Vivas shows. I appreciate that attitude and reciprocate it. I must also thank him for trying to "philosophize" the experiment, for calling attention so sharply to the distinction between beliefs and values on the one hand and educational machinery on the other. The suggestion that our venture really has a philosophy is so gratifying that one can almost forgive the failure of Mr. Vivas to understand what philosophy it has. But there is one point at which his dealing with us is harder to accept. It seems to me that he is not accurately informed as to what our actual procedure is, how our teaching is done. I wish that he might have succeeded in providing for his argument a more solid basis of fact.

There are two points on which I should like to rest my contention. Both have to do with the discussion of instrumentalities. The first deals with the inaccuracy just mentioned. The second concerns the failure to understand a problem.

First, Mr. Vivas describes the teaching procedure of the college as one of giving vision and stimulation by means of discussion. And in his account of the process one looks in vain to see what is being discussed. "Emphasis is put," he tells us, "on the individual character of the relations between teachers and pupils. There are no classes or recitations; instruction takes the form of discussion in personal conference. There are lectures, but these consist for the most part of an introduction in which a point of view is presented by the lecturer, followed by general discussion by the students." Neither here nor elsewhere is there any reference to the fact that the course of study is defined by lists of books which are assigned to the student for reading. We are not told that the students are expected to write frequent, usually weekly, papers on their reading. It is not mentioned that the "conferences" between advisers and students are primarily concerned with these written papers and the reading on which they are based. Nor are we told that the "lectures" are attempts at helping and guiding the students in their reading and in their reactions to it. In a word, Mr. Vivas gives us the impression that discussion is conducted in a vacuum. And the suggestion is such as to strike horror into any breast which cares for reality and relevance. But as matter of fact, the whole teaching procedure has a solid basis in reading. It rests upon the reading of books which are great and significant. Our major task in both years of the course has been the selection and organization of this body of reading. About these books all the instruction has centered. Mr. Vivas speaks only of discussions and lectures. When one adds to these the reading of assigned books, the writing of papers, and the teaching criticism of both, one sees how inadequate and misleading the "discussion-stimulation" description is.

But the second point is even more serious than the first. For it seems to me that in his account of the college Mr. Vivas has not really discovered what the problem of the advisers is, has not entered into the thinking which we have tried to do. Three charges he brings against our teaching procedure. First, the students do not get accurate information nor do they develop habits of accurate work. Second, they are not taught by specialists who have mastery of the material. Third, they are not driven by examinations and other compulsions to do work which they would not otherwise do. Now these are serious charges, and they are in large measure valid. But they are also very obvious and very commonly made. Why, then, have not the advisers been influenced by them? Is it assumed by Mr. Vivas that we have been oblivious of difficulties which have been the common talk of campus conversation? Let us apply the question to the study of the Athenian civilization. If we had defined our aim simply as the development of industry and the teaching of facts as such, we could easily have used for this purpose a good, routine, well-organized textbook on Greek history. Why have we not done it? Surely we

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know both of the existence of textbooks and of the values of accurate information. So, too, we might have used only specialists in Greek culture and history to do the teaching. Why were other men chosen as well? Why did we take men from many different fields of study? And again, we as teachers are not unacquainted with examinations and like devices. Why have we not used them? Now I am not arguing here that the methods which we have followed are better than those which we have discarded. What I am saying is that Mr. Vivas does not seem to have faced the question why we have kept the one set of methods and discarded the other. In fact, he seems to have no sense of that problem at all. He is keenly aware of what we have failed to do, as I trust we are too. But he has, so far as I can judge, no apprehension of what we have been trying to do. Our vigorous and even furious differences of opinion he seizes upon as if they were forms of apostasy from high religion. Apparently he interprets us as having dogmatically tried to demonstrate the virtues of one selected method of teaching. We are for him advocates of a system rather than students of a problem. But as against this I insist that there is a problem with regard to the teaching of the first two college years—a perplexing and bewildering problem of the utmost significance. But in the article here criticized I find no account of it. Does this mean that we have imagined a problem where none exists? Whether or not this is true must, I presume, be left for determination when our reports tell what, if anything, has been going on in our minds. If it should then appear that we have not a problem but only a dogma, Mr. Vivas will be justified. If, on the other hand, we have been doing some thinking about our methods, I am sure that Mr. Vivas gives no adequate account of it. I do not think that he has told his readers what the Experimental College has been trying to do. In this situation it is somewhat idle to inquire whether or not we have succeeded in doing it.

In conclusion may I again remind my reader that this statement is not a reply but only a hurried rejoinder. I have not discussed an argument but have only tried to show why it cannot be discussed just now.

Political Prostitution

By PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Washington, March 14

THE pulling and hauling, the temptation and exhortation, the bribery and admonition which will determine whether Miss Democracy is to embark on a career of open prostitution or cling to the outer garments of respectability are now in full swing. And to make it more edifying, they are in full view. Chairman Raskob rang up the curtain last week when he commended to the National Committee an economic platform calculated to make Joe Grundy look like a Communist. It was an invitation to step in and take possession of the purple boudoir occupied for the last ten years by that now haggard and unhappy female whose lingerie bears the initials G. O. P. It is not likely that Mr. Raskob intended to be so frank in this particular matter. Indeed, seldom has anyone attained such heights of astuteness and such depths of ineptitude in one political speech. His plan to precipitate the inevitable prohibition fracas early enough for the drys to become resigned before the national convention was shrewdly conceived and may succeed. His attempt to make the party solid with big business and sew up the Presidential nomination for Owen D. Young was horribly crude, and has done more to enhance the prospects of Governor Roosevelt than anything else that has happened this year. Mr. Raskob took in too much territory at one time. He should have confined himself to prohibition and party finances. His allusion to power companies "charging 15 cents a kilowatt for current that they should supply for 10 or 12 cents" promises to be one of the classic howlers of the pre-convention campaign. The average domestic rate in the first twenty-five cities of the country is less than 8 cents, and where plants are publicly owned and operated it ranges from 1.6 to 4.5 cents. His proposal to suspend the anti-trust laws to permit more mergers and greater monopolies—made at a time like this—was an exhibition of political naivete and moral obtuseness.

BEING a captain of finance, Mr. Raskob doubtless confines his reading to the market pages of the newspapers. Otherwise he would have known the Progressives were to stage a conference here this week, and he might have realized that his economic pronouncements would provide them with the perfect setting. Or he might not. The mental processes of captains of industry, like those of the three-toed sloth, are mostly inscrutable. At any rate, Bob La Follette and Uncle George Norris read the Raskobian manifesto in favor of twelve-cent power and bigger trusts, and went about their plans like men inspired. The basic theory underlying the conference, of course, was that both the political parties are hopelessly reactionary at the top. In the case of the Republicans, any denial of this charge would have been useless and silly, but up to the time Mr. Raskob exposed himself the Democrats might have been inclined to protest in their own behalf. He made it possible for Borah to plead for "a political party—or if not a political party, then political voices—that will do some worrying about the 96 per cent of the people who own only 20 per cent of the national wealth." He made it logical for Norris to declare that "an attempt is being made to turn the Democratic Party over to the interests that already own the Republican Party." In short, he presented the Progressives with a perfect opportunity to serve notice on the Democrats to adopt a decent platform and forget about Young if they wish to receive any assistance from the enlightened elements of the country in the 1932 campaign. Naturally, they didn't overlook it.

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LET no serious person suppose, however, that the effort to rescue Miss Democracy from a harlot's fate was either the major aim or the major accomplishment of the Progressive conference. Such suppositions may be left to political Weisenheimers and to the kindergarten mentalities

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which take their morning romp in such places as the editorial page of the New York *Times*. The main objects and achievements of the conference were: to formulate a broad and definite legislative program for which the Progressive members of both parties can work and fight in Congress; to fortify that program with a massive volume of expert scientific knowledge; to expose the intellectual and moral bankruptcy of the men who now control the politics, industry, and finance of the country; to demonstrate that the only constructive leadership which exists in the nation, either actively or latently, resides in the Progressives who are on the firing line in Congress and in the trained and practical men behind the lines who are supplying them with ammunition. These were the objects which certainly were achieved. Another, the ultimate success of which can hardly be foretold now, was to impress on the public the fact that industrial calamity and political chaos of the sort which have swamped the country in the past two years may be avoided through honest, efficient government and intelligent planning, and that their prevalence now is due to the greed and stupidity of business, and to cowardice, favoritism, and incompetence in the government. Whether that will get over to the country, God only knows. If it does, it will be a triumph of popular intelligence over journalistic fogginess and superficiality—with the customary honorable exceptions.

* * * * *

IT is difficult to contemplate the plight of Herbert Hoover without a pang of pity. Unhappy Herbert! Two years in the White House and two more to go before the misery ends! I cannot remember one instance where a great reputation has faded so quickly, and it is a poignant coincidence that he should fail most conspicuously and disastrously in the particular fields where his fame was greatest. Thus the man who fed starving Europe made an issue against feeding starving America. The Great Administrator, the unfailing judge of men, surrounded himself with a pack of adventurers and political hacks whom Coolidge would not have tolerated. The Great Humanitarian bestowed a veto on the Wagner unemployment bill, and concurred in the clammy Wilbur's attempt to destroy the Children's Bureau. The Great Engineer was saved by his opponents from wrecking the Boulder Dam project, and then wrote a veto message on Muscle Shoals filled with pathetic miscalculations and glaring technical misstatements. Heralded as an economist, he signed and defended a tariff which was the product of the most brazen log-rolling and political trading in history, and huddled helpless and trembling in the White House through the economic disaster which followed. Welcomed as the President who would be above politics, he exhibited all the ethics of a ward politician without the ability. The thing has all the elements of classic tragedy. The fates that made him also ruined him. Incidentally, Secretary Mellon made another prediction not long ago. He predicted that if the veterans'-loan bill were passed, the Treasury would be handicapped in the refinancing operation which impended. The bill was passed and last week the Treasury undertook the operation by making a large offer of low-interest bonds. Immediately the issue was oversubscribed four times! It really is time that some close friend or relative spoke to him about this predicting habit. The consequences are becoming too ridiculous to be mentioned even in *The Nation*.

In the Driftway

NO one seems to care that the ex-Kaiser is seventy-two. To the world he is only another of the unemployed. Ex-royalties are no more interesting than ex-presidents, to the Drifter's way of thinking, and sawing wood is much the same thing at Doorn and in the *Herald Tribune*. But a good upstanding king of democratic tastes is a fine thing now and then, and a far pleasanter thing than a loud speaker exalted to a dictatorship. A good upstanding king of democratic tastes is Gustav of Sweden. "The sportsman king" the illustrated supplements label him. Why? Because he plays tennis, tennis, tennis, and has played it for forty, fifty, who knows how many years.

* * * * *

WHEN the Drifter was a boy, one of his daily pleasures during an extended stay in Stockholm was to see old King Oscar and his sons Gustav and Karl walking through the town. The three tallest men in the kingdom they were said to be. And that was the only way you knew they were royalty, that and the friendly way in which they lifted their hats to everyone. How they enjoyed the riotous folk-dance the Drifter and some students once did for them in an open meadow! The Drifter is reminded as he looks back now of the old marching carol in which the French children roll their r's so deliciously, "Tr-r-rois gr-r-rands r-r-rois." And every afternoon at three the Drifter would look out the window of the old gymnasium where he took fencing lessons to see if Crown Prince Gustav had come. There he was, always on time, looking up at the window, waiting by the tennis court for the Drifter's fencing master to play with him. Some of the young officers were a bit shy about meeting him; either they feared it might be unmannerly if they should beat him, or he kept them at it too long. But the Drifter's fencing master was as thoroughgoing and as democratic as the Crown Prince, and gave no games to anyone. He was even better at fencing than at tennis. "Fencing?" he used to say; "I'm a mere beginner. I've only been at it eleven years, and can't give more than five hours a day to practice—what can you expect then?" As he made a leisurely change to tennis togs the Drifter would vainly try to hurry him: "Do be quick, old man, the Crown Prince has been walking up and down for ten minutes." "To be sure," was the reply, "he has more time than I. He doesn't have to give lessons —he won't mind waiting."

* * * * *

NO spectators were invited; this was not a demonstration, it was tennis. But the Drifter kept his solitary post at the window as the game began. Or was it a religious service? Apparently Gustav did not play for fun, or for exercise, or for pastime, or because it was the thing to do; to him it was as serious and absorbing, and demanded his best efforts as much as his approaching kingship. If an Englishman's harshest judgment is that a thing is "not cricket," it would surely be equivalent to a death sentence if King Gustav pronounced an act "not tennis."

THE DRIFTER

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Correspondence

A Reply from the Professor of Books

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your issue of February 18 Benjamin Stolberg contributes an extended review of Dr. Abraham Flexner's "Universities—American, English, and German," in which he regrets that Dr. Flexner did not devote more space to "the so-called experimental college." Mr. Stolberg honestly seems to believe that the work of these colleges is based on "a sort of diaphanous self-expression on the part of the student," and he cites as "the most fantastic expression of this sort of education, Rollins College in Winter Park, Florida, where President Hamilton Holt has hired a professor of books . . ."

Since I am that professor of books, may I comment briefly on Mr. Stolberg's and Dr. Flexner's strictures? Dr. Flexner's criticism of my title "professor of books" was based on its 'novelty" and, as he supposed, the "ad-hoc-ness" of the courses offered. Nothing could be farther from their purpose. The three courses offered—one in Recreational Reading, one on the History of the Book, and one on Literary Personalities—are purely cultural courses. They are not in any sense training or vocational courses. Yet Dr. Flexner classifies them and condemns them with courses in "poultry-raising" and "clog-dancing for men" offered at Columbia University and a course in "police administration" which is offered by the University of Chicago.

Dr. Flexner is not quite fair in saying that "the Minneapolis *Journal*, alive to this absurdity [a professor of books], gravely suggests that one lecture at least should be devoted to the noble art of returning borrowed books." As a matter of fact, the editorial referred to gave extended and serious approval of the idea of a professor of books, and only in the closing sentence humorously, not gravely, remarked that a course on returning books borrowed from friends would be appropriate. The label "this absurdity" was Dr. Flexner's, not the editor's.

The idea of a professor of books is not new, having been first proposed exactly seventy-five years ago by Ralph Waldo Emerson, who said in 1856 that "no chair was so much wanted." In 1876 Frederick Beecher Perkins, then director of the Boston Public Library, and Professor William Matthews, of Chicago University, wrote extended pleas for the immediate establishment of professorships of books in the colleges of the country in order to help develop a love of reading and raise the cultural standards of college students. Both these pleas were given indorsement by the United States Department of Education and were published at government expense, but completely ignored by our colleges.

Rollins, more than any other college I know of, meets Mr. Stolberg's standard: "When he [the teacher] is free, his students will also be free to learn what he knows and to think what they want." Rollins is not concerned with "diaphanous self-expression" on the part of its students. It is greatly concerned with freedom of teaching on the part of its faculty, and with cultural growth, development of self-reliance, and independent thinking on the part of its students. That it is succeeding in its purpose to a remarkable degree will, I believe, be evident to anyone who is open-minded and who will spend a week with the faculty and students on the Rollins College campus.

Winter Park, Fla., February 23 Edwin D. Grover

Those Greek Gerunds

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In Dr. Stolberg's interesting and stimulating article in *The Nation* of February 18, entitled Ballyhoo and the Higher Learning, I find the following: "One can attack a professor grinding Greek gerunds with quotations from Plato's Republic." Either Dr. Stolberg knows no Greek or he has slipped badly. The Greek language has no gerunds.

Again, in two places Dr. Stolberg uses the word "trivia" apparently in the sense of "trivialities." There would seem to be no English or Latin authority for such use.

Cincinnati, February 24 Ed. F. Alexander

Still Without Trial

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In *The Nation* of February 11, in a letter signed by Dr. Leland H. Jenks referring to rights in Cuba, an editorial note was inserted to the effect that Colonel Aurelio Hevia had at last been charged for trial. This report is not true. Today, February 20, fifty-six days after the arrest of Colonel Hevia, he has not yet been presented for trial or indicted by any judge.

Probably this mistake was made because in October, 1929, Colonel Mendieta, Dr. Torriene, Sr. J. G. Gomez, Sr. Aurelio Alvarez, Dr. Mendez Peñate, and Colonel Hevia issued a manifesto duly signed and distributed on loose sheets since no newspaper would publish it for fear of the government. Machado ordered action against the signers, following his policy of preventing the publication of criticism of his government. In October, 1929, all of them were indicted and have been out on bail ever since. This case has never been brought to trial because the government knows that the defendants would be acquitted; but being under bail they must present themselves at court every fifteen days.

Since my father's arrest the case has been set for trial several times. One such date was February 2, but the trial did not take place because the military authorities refused to present Colonel Hevia.

Havana, February 20 Manuel G. Hevia

Answers to Questions

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Two of your editorials in two recent issues end with a question mark, and assuming that you wish to hear from your circle of readers I herewith submit my attempt at answering.

America's Follies, in your issue of March 4, ends with the question: "Will the people listen?" If the passage of the Simmer bill by the Iowa legislature, authorizing the establishment of municipally owned utility plants and payment for these plants out of future earnings, is an acceptable criterion the answer would be in the affirmative. And in view of the fact that the public, because of mergers and other reasons, is practically hand-fed by the press on the viciousness of such a rank violation of "rugged individualism" and very rarely treated to such items as, for instance, the fact that the municipally owned and managed utilities at Ames, Iowa, turned $32,000 into the city treasury last year, the passage of this bill deserves perhaps to be considered as an indication of the turning of the tide.

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Heard Across the World, in the issue of February 25, likewise ends with a question: "Shall we have a Catholic revival?" For the sake of expediency permit me to divide the probable answers into three groups: (1) The Catholics may fairly generally have been pleased and heartened because they believed that the pontiff's message, being addressed to all and sundry, would contribute to a better understanding with non-Catholics; (2) Protestants would not be Protestants if they did not resent the Pope's invitation to return to the fold like strayed sheep; (3) Laodiceans who admire the beauty of the church and revere her age will be inclined to question the wisdom of the leader of a venerable institution, reared upon a foundation of assumed first principles and established by deductive reasoning, succumbing to such modernism as the radio; to them the introduction of modern inventions into the Vatican appears about as advisable as the sudden admittance of fresh air into the tomb of an Egyptian king—which causes the treasures to crumble to dust.

Clinton, Iowa, March 6 J. C. MENZEL

Reply to the Dirt Farmer

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The apparent contradiction between the production policies of the Farm Board and the United States Department of Agriculture expressed in Mr. Glenn W. Birkett's article in *The Nation* of March 4 is, I think, due to a misunderstanding of the position of the United States Department of Agriculture. Both organizations have been working together in the formulation of the recommendations for curtailing the production of certain crops contained in the "Agricultural Outlook for 1931." The United States Department of Agriculture, through the Extension Service, has been urging farmers to increase the efficiency of their production (yield per acre or per animal) but not the total output, except in a very few special cases. The aim has been to produce a volume sufficient for consumption from a smaller acreage and fewer animals, thus giving the farmer time to improve his standard of living through the production of more garden and home products.

The Extension Service in Virginia, which cooperates with the United States Department of Agriculture, has four main points in its extension program: (1) Increase the efficiency of farm production; (2) adjust the volume and quality of farm products to consumptive demand; (3) increase the efficiency of marketing through cooperative associations; (4) increase the efficiency of purchasing for farmers through cooperative associations. Increased efficiency should provide the farmer with more money and more leisure but need not increase his total output, as I have said above.

I am personally adding a fifth: Develop national planning of economic activity and fit agricultural production into this plan.

Blacksburg, Va., March 5 GORDON H. WARD

Right You Are!

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In his article True Stories de Luxe, Milton St. John states, "I know of no ambassador who gets anything like $17,000 per annum from our government."

I should like to state that the salary of our ambassadors is $17,500 per annum.

RUPERT KOENINGER

Columbia Falls, Montana, March 10

Why Bother?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I do not know Mr. J. B. Priestley. I have no interest in defending him. My interest is in the self-respect of Americans.

Why such organs of American intelligence as *The Nation* and the *New Republic* should find it needful to reply (with a definite touch of spleen, of botheredness, of emotional *need* to justify Us) to the remarks of foreign visitors about American ways, I cannot fathom. If foreigners have no impressions before arrival, they are ill-read. If they get none when here, they are fools. If their impressions make any difference to us, merely because of the name of the person who has the impression (rather than because of the light the impression gives) it is we who are fools, and bad readers.

Why it is conceived to be a self-respecting answer to criticism—which with a traveling foreigner must of necessity be suggestive at best—to quarrel with the foreigner's basis of judgment, or to sneer at the manners of him or his informants, I also fail to fathom. If his impression sheds light, let us reexamine the facts—*we* know the facts, whether he does or not—in the light of it. If it does not shed light, why the bother?

Why a foreigner should be criticized for answering questions the reporters ask him to answer is again a mystery. They are our reporters, not his. He is entitled to assume that we are interested in his impressions, as impressions. Indeed, in this case, the interest is demonstrated. What is not demonstrated is that the organs of American intelligence have balance and self-confidence enough to shrug benignantly at ill-advised criticism of American intelligence in action.

Which, in view of the level of that intelligence on so many other matters, is worth regretting.

New York, March 4 K. N. LLEWELLYN

Material on Gorki

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: May I appeal through your pages for documentary and personal material in connection with Maxim Gorki's sojourn in New York in 1906? I am particularly anxious to clarify the role of the Russian embassy at Washington in the anti-Gorki campaign. A confession by a former official of the embassy was published somewhere, but I have not been able to trace it.

Berkeley, Cal., January 27 ALEXANDER KAUN

Stephen A. Douglas

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is my expectation shortly to embark upon the writing of a biography of Stephen A. Douglas, with especial emphasis upon the decade from 1850 through 1860. I would be particularly gratified if any of your readers who happen to be in possession of manuscripts, letters, diaries, or other unused source material concerning Douglas, Franklin Pierce, James Buchanan, Jefferson Davis in the fifties, or other of the great figures of that period would intrust them to me for copying and return. I will assure them prompt reading and safe return.

Chattanooga, Tenn., March 1 GEORGE F. MILTON

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Books, Music, Drama

When the Snow Goes

By DAVID MORTON

The white dream of virginity is over,
And earth awakens to remember, now,
Her womanhood and motherhood, her lover
And all that followed on the thrusting plow;
For yet a little while these early days,
She finds the blue sky grown a tender thing,
As distant and adoring as the gaze
We give to girls across the careless spring.

Almost—almost—it seems, she might forget,
So virginal and inviolate the airs
That blow above her for a little, yet,
Unmindful of the fiery seed she bears
Whose hidden labors, flowering out of pain,
Are heavy fruit and sharp and shining grain.

The Cult of Chaos

The Melody of Chaos. By Houston Peterson. Longmans, Green and Company. $2.50.

THIS book has a dual and perhaps a divided aim; it would be easy to attack it with what Mr. Peterson himself calls "brutal 'either-or'" methods. In his preface he refers to it as a "study in complexity and chaos, with the poetry of Conrad Aiken as my point of departure and principal theme." Considered as a study in complexity and chaos, it surely leans on Aiken with utter disproportion as compared with original and powerful writers like Joyce, Proust, Dostoevski, and Melville, or even as compared with such other American poets as Eliot, Pound, Stevens, and MacLeish. Considered as a critical study of Aiken, it contains too much both about other writers and about certain problems of psychology and philosophy.

But let us grant the author his twofold purpose. As there are many "horizontal studies" of contemporary psychological chaos, Mr. Peterson thinks "it may be illuminating for a change to consider as *symptom* and *symbol* the work of one author who is peculiarly typical of the age." But why should that be Conrad Aiken? Because:

> He has embraced his predicament. He has celebrated chaos, faced it frankly, with affection, and consequently his report is more searching than that of those who are trying so desperately to escape, by way of the primitive, the occult, or the Catholic. . . . He has gone as far as possible in the direction of spiritual disorder, without plunging into madness. He has made the case for sensitive living today as bad as possible. His disillusion is fearful and complete, his melancholy incurable.

"The Melody of Chaos," as one may gather from this, is a sort of supplement both to "The Modern Temper" of Mr. Krutch and the recent study of the symbolists by Mr. Wilson. It is adroitly and persuasively argued, and remarkably learned. In the single chapter on the vicissitudes in the conception of the ego, for example, Mr. Peterson ranges through Socrates, St. Paul, Prudentius, Montaigne, Charron, Shakespeare, Burton, Bacon, Descartes, Berkeley, Hume, Richardson, Sterne, Kant, Schopenhauer, Rousseau, Benjamin Constant, Stendhal, La Rochefoucauld, Poe, Melville, Baudelaire, Darwin, Dostoevski, Nietzsche, Strindberg, Charcot, Janet, Dujardin, Mallarmé, Flaubert, Tolstoy, William James, Freud, Bergson, Henry James, Proust, Gide, Joyce, Russell, McDougall, and F. H. Bradley. And this is no mere roll call of great names, but authors actually read and quoted to the point. Mr. Peterson's erudition never becomes pedantry or clogs the flow of his zestful sentences.

But with all his ingratiating exposition he never convinces us that Mr. Aiken is quite as important as he makes him out to be. Mr. Aiken is unquestionably a distinguished poet, and has given perhaps even more promise as a critic and a novelist; he is sincere, sensitive, and acute; his verse is smooth, melodious, technically often admirable. It is remarkably lucid—too lucid, in fact, to be quite the most impressive literary symbol of modern disintegration and chaos. It is even a little facile; there are too many poetic clichés in it, too many familiar images, rhythms, and rhymes. In brief, it lacks the intensity of great poetry, and Mr. Peterson does Mr. Aiken a poor service when he links his name with that of Donne or Webster.

Nor do I find myself able to accept the cult of chaos, disillusion, and skepticism that Mr. Aiken reflects and Mr. Peterson champions. Mr. Aiken, we are told, has reached the "final skepticism" because he "discusses the loss of the ego itself"; he rejects "that which presupposes everything else, . . . that which has rejected everything else." Well, we have seen the ego rejected before, but that does not seem to me the final skepticism. The man who rejects the ego may be putting too much faith in the dubious processes of analysis by which he rejects it. We never hear, indeed, from the complete skeptics at all; final skepticism, as Anatole France reminded us, implies absolute silence. And even a reasonably thorough skeptic will at least sometimes be skeptical of his own skepticism, will sometimes tremble on the verge of belief. It seems to me that a good deal of the skepticism now abroad is much too dogmatic. As for chaos, there is no doubt a great deal of it; but to say that the world is completely chaotic is meaningless: the very notion of chaos could not exist without the notion of order: the terms are correlative. Those who talk so much of chaos, moreover, are usually telling us more about themselves than about nature. "When we are perplexed," remarked the late C. H. Cooley, "we project the disorder of our minds in a belief that the world is anarchical."

Historic perspective as well as psychology should help us to see that the contemporary cult of chaos, with its attendant skepticism and disillusion, has a close kinship with that romantic melancholy which the humanists have traced maliciously from Rousseau through Byron. Indeed, in one paragraph toward the end of the book, Mr. Peterson himself almost gives away the whole show. "In enjoying these darker moods now, we unconsciously and inevitably feel that we are sensitive and delicate, part of a sensitive and delicate tradition, ennobled by such distinguished figures as Hamlet, Byron, Châteaubriand, and Baudelaire." It is fashionable now to be confused about the world; it at least proves that one is not a bond salesman or a Babbitt; and so an increasing number of intellectuals are pretending to be considerably more muddled, more disillusioned, and more unhappy than they are. They tell us that their soul is immensely complex, that their apparently simple personality is really a great seething madhouse of conflicting personalities, that they do not know which impulse will gain control of them next. This self-view is flattering, for to feel immensely complex is to feel somehow important, but when we look at these people from the outside, from the standpoint of crowd psychology or of behaviorism, we usually do not find it difficult to predict what their response will be to a given situation.

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These new skeptics, as I have already said, seem to me to make a surprising number of very dogmatic declarations. Defending Mr. Aiken's peculiar propensity for twilight, for example, Mr. Peterson writes:

> Intellectually, philosophically, one may feel most at home in twilight as the *essential* time of day, when vagueness reigns, when sharp lines disappear and apparent differences merge together. The bright sun of noonday brings out only harsh contrasts, as does the conventional moralist with his terrible antitheses, the old-fashioned logician with his emphasis on contradictory propositions, the brutal "either-or" thinker with his passion for cardinal colors, whereas a more tender mind will achieve a rich synthesis on a higher level or find solutions for his problems in the realm of pastel shades. As Renan once remarked, truth lies in the nuance. Life leads through a murky no-man's-land, through a perpetual twilight amid opposing forces which the tragic poet describes most adequately.

All this is obviously mere *reactive* thinking. If the Victorians saw sharp contrasts where there were only nuances, Mr. Peterson seems to say, then let us see merely nuances where there are really sharp contrasts; if our fathers saw only blacks and whites, let us see only grays. This will prove that we are much more subtle and sensitive than they were. But will it? *Does* life lead through a *perpetual* twilight? Obviously it does nothing of the kind. Like the concept of chaos, the concept of twilight is correlative; it has no meaning except in relation to sunlight and night. The intellectual, like the physical world, is clearly made up of all three. The world will always need its twilight thinkers, but we are beginning to have an embarrassing number. When they have called the current tune—or discord—long enough, someone will go mad and scream for a Macaulay.

HENRY HAZLITT

American Literature Exposed

A Literary History of the American People. Volume I: From 1607 to the Beginning of the Revolutionary Period; Volume II: from 1750 to 1815. By Charles Angoff. Alfred A. Knopf. $10.

MR. ANGOFF'S first two volumes deal with the part of American history which is the least interesting from a literary point of view. He has in preparation two more volumes which will complete the tale to the present time. So far he has made the tale entertaining, fluent, continuous. His physical plan is conventional—the regular divisions in time, geographical sections, types of literature, individuals. His treatment is not conventional, and he is rather lustily aware of it; at least he is not a conformist with respect to most critical and historical books written before our present irreverent age, though he makes abundant use of his predecessors, with full acknowledgments in notes and quotations. In appearance, and largely in substance, his work is quite in the proper scholarly manner. In tone and phrasing it is jaunty, up-to-the-minute, vivacious, sometimes amusing and original, sometimes journalistic and a bit cheap.

It is refreshing—and it would have been more refreshing in the days before the anti-superstitious attitude became a superstition, a ritual, with Mr. Mencken as high priest—it is refreshing to read a man who goes straight to the sources and the accepted interpretations of those sources, takes a look for himself, and reports what he finds. The older critics and historians, mostly inhabitants of the Atlantic States and their Western disciples, liked the colonial and revolutionary writers and showed them up to the best advantage, sometimes letting enthusiasm run away with judgment, and discovering merits which were simply not there. Mr. Angoff takes the other course. He does not like many of the people he deals with in these two volumes, concedes their virtues with evident reluctance, and displays their faults and follies with an air of triumphant satisfaction. He devotes—wastefully, I think—many pages to quotations of poor verse and poor prose, for the sake of showing how poor it is. This is not to say that he does not select many of the best prose passages. But he takes pleasure in crossing out the A's and B's that the older professors have awarded their ancestors and marking them down to D's and E's, with a few C's-minus.

Specifically, he hates Puritanism (and does not understand it), not because he has anything against dead men, but because he holds them responsible for the alleged "puritanism" that oppresses us today. "That the prevailing culture of America is still Puritan at heart is due almost wholly to the writings of the early Calvinistic divines of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and, to a lesser degree, of Rhode Island." Yet he says that when "Jonathan Edwards was buried in the old graveyard at Princeton, Puritanism went with him." How reconcile those statements? Mr. Angoff even attacks Calvinism as if he were a theological pamphleteer. "There is no more devastating argument against Calvinism and all it means than the life and deeds of Jonathan Edwards." It is not the business of criticism and history to find devastating arguments, but to find out what happened, what Calvinism was, and how it was expressed. The game of knocking the steeple hats off the Puritans is as tiresomely played out as the older gesture of taking one's own hat off to them too reverentially. Some recent historians, acutely critical and not weighted by ancient pieties, have given us a moderate and balanced view of the colonists; notably Professor S. E. Morison, to whose admirable "Builders of the Bay Colony" Mr. Angoff makes only one reference in a footnote, to cite Morison's "exaggerated opinion of Anne Bradstreet" as an example of "a deplorable practice among historians" not to "keep clear of literary criticism."

Since Mr. Angoff so often accuses other critics and historians of exaggeration and overstatement, it is fair to take a page from his own book—not the wisest page—and point out that his reversed theological zeal leads him to overemphasis. Calvinism "ruined completely the brilliancy and logical cogency" of Edwards's essay on "Freedom of the Will." At worst, Calvinism weakened the concluding part of the essay, but did not ruin it. The narrow attitude of Massachusetts "nullified all possible good that could have been derived from her educational system." No, not nullified, only diminished it. Some statements are not exaggerated but untrue. With the decline of its authority, the Puritan oligarchy "was impelled to incite the witchcraft madness in order to bolster up the waning allegiance of the public." There is no hint of such a motive in those dead-in-earnest, self-righteous men. The Virginians "tortured quite as many witches as the Salem fanatics." Professor Edward Channing says ("History of the United States," II, 458) that "in Virginia the belief in witchcraft was widespread and sincere, but there were no executions." Perhaps historians should keep clear of literary criticism; literary historians should be wary when they deal with non-literary aspects of history, especially when the literary historian is in an aggressive, challenging, disputative frame of mind.

Mr. Angoff values "Bacon's Epitaph, Made by His Man" ("His Man" cannot mean, as Mr. Angoff suggests, "a menial, a servant, po' white trash," but one of Bacon's followers in the rebellion, as we say "Cromwell's man," "the King's man"). He appreciates Thomas Morton of Merry Mount and Roger Williams and John Wise, because they were rebels. When he gets out of the shadow of Puritanism into the vigorous thought of the Revolution he is on surer ground; his second volume is an

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alert and judicious appraisal of the orators, pamphleteers, statesmen, and the few merely literary men of the time, from James Otis to Philip Freneau. If he withholds his full approval from some of the admittedly good and great, he lapses into a strangely uncritical use of "great" in the last line of the volume, in which he calls Bryant's "Thanatopsis" "the first great poem in our annals."

It is pleasant to see him stress Jonathan Mayhew and insist on the importance of Madison as thinker and writer; Madison is usually placed in a secondary position, too subordinate to Jefferson and Hamilton. Mr. Angoff falls foul of Franklin in a very unfortunate way. "He had a cheap and shabby soul." "It would be more accurate to call Franklin the father of all the Kiwanians." "Franklin represented the least praiseworthy qualities of the inhabitants of the New World: miserliness, fanatical practicality, and lack of interest in what are usually known as spiritual things. Babbittry was not a new thing in America, but he made a religion of it, and by his tremendous success with it he grafted it upon the American people so securely that the national genius is still suffering from it." "The vulgarity he spread is still with us." (Earlier Mr. Angoff says that Samuel Sewell is "in short, a sort of *Ur*-Babbitt.") Well, just where does the vulgarity lie? In the writers criticized or in the manner of the criticism? The younger adventurers in the era of Mencken and Sinclair Lewis still have time to ask themselves such delicately critical questions.

JOHN MACY

Candor About Painters

Modern American Painters. By Samuel M. Kootz. Brewer and Warren. $5.

MR. KOOTZ'S book on modern American art has provoked considerable controversy because of certain aggressive generalizations about our art, and because of the picturesque and brusque manner in which he disposes of most of the favorite painters. As our critics have for years been nurturing an American renaissance, and in this task have been hailing every year several embryonic geniuses, they have quite naturally been perturbed. But in their haste to defend the artists Kootz dislikes they have failed to appreciate the penetrating way he has analyzed the painters he does believe in. His essays on Dove, Kuniyoshi, Marin, O'Keeffe, Sheeler, Sterne, and Weber should be models of perception and prose style for most professional critics. One need not agree with Mr. Kootz, but it is a pleasure to see so intelligent a man looking at paintings, explaining and balancing and thus evoking their qualities.

His tirade also seems to me healthy. What he is trying to do is to establish a standard. One hesitates at this word because it has been used so captiously by aesthetes. But we have real, if somewhat shifting, standards of other than our own present art which have developed through controversy, and the standard which this book is helping to erect is one which will come the same way. We know now that Eakens, Ryder, and Homer were the best American painters of their time. We did not know then. Many of the important men have faded out despite all the good said of them. If a hundred educated persons were to make a list of the six most important contemporary painters of Europe, there would probably be substantial agreement among them. It is certainly likely that Picasso and Matisse would be on every list. These definite feelings have come about through argument. There is plenty of argument about modern American art in private, but there is little in criticism. Most of our critics in an effort to be fair have at one time or another patted everyone on the back. Their zeal to be amiable has sometimes been so extreme that the owners of the galleries have been amazed themselves at the virtues found in their artists. Candid but intelligent criticism is something everyone agrees we need. Mr. Kootz is candid, and to my mind he is also intelligent.

WALTER GUTMAN

A Charming Autobiography

The Grass Roof. By Younghill Kang. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

YOUNGHILL KANG'S autobiographical novel owes its unusual charm not only to its material—the life of a Korean child born just before the time of the Japanese invasion, educated in Korean and Japanese schools, and, when the book closes, en route to a great American college—but also to that beauty of style which is the result probably of the perfect adaptation of language to sentiment—the sentiment here being that idyllic and childlike clarity of perception and recollection which requires an economical and simple poetry in prose. Each scene is exactly visualized and its significance is directly translated as it was felt and beheld by the child himself. To translate one culture into the terms of another is a difficult task, but it is a task which Mr. Kang has accomplished perfectly. One wonders, indeed, how much of the particular kind of naive and lucid beauty which his language commands is the result of a perfect mingling of Oriental and Occidental education. Mr. Kang never allows, as do some interpreters of other cultures, one point of view to cheapen or tarnish another. His contrasts are made with such sympathy and understanding of both Oriental and Occidental life that he points and heightens the charm of both.

This novel swings from one exquisite narrative sketch, like an idyll, to another, but the strand of each sketch is carried forward, and the character of the boy himself and of the members of his family and his friends gradually develops against the background, first, of the small village—

> On the right bank of the river, bordered and interspersed by pine and weeping-willow trees, was the village, and behind it, somewhat lower, the rice fields. On the left bank grew the millet and other grains, and farther over, against the opposite mountain, were to be found the deer, the hawks, the tiger cats, and the fabulous dragons. I can remember in the mornings when the sun was getting up how its beams trembled on dew-drunk foliage of the mountain, then poured down like sparkling bits of glass over the water in the valley—especially when the rice seeds were ripening in the fields. At such a time the whole world seemed to dance and glisten, for the color of the ripe rice was tawny, and lay rippling like a golden fleece under the eye.

And, later, against the revolutionary background of the Japanese invasion, when the boy, realizing the necessity for an education, walks his journey of one thousand *lis* to enter a Japanese government school. Twice he suffers imprisonment at the hands of the Japanese:

> For the last two weeks I was given the unofficial torture daily: beatings, suspension by thumbs, and questions in between times. It was dreadfully painful, and from one torture to another I could hardly keep my mind on the books I was allowed to study, such as "Hamlet" and the Bible (which I read from Genesis to Revelation for the first time). Taken back to my cell, I was fed exclusively on beans and water, three times a day. Thus arose my prejudice against beans.

When the book closes, the author is on his way to America under the protection of an American missionary. On shipboard he finds peace:

> It is like a revelation into the kingdom of eternity, this night of stars and clear wind in a world apart from other

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worlds. Above and around on every side move sea-gulls, following the motion of the waves, leading on from mystery to mystery.

The whole of this novel is interspersed, very rightly, with translations (made by the author with Frances Keely) from Korean poetry, and the book as a whole has much the quality of that poetry—simple, symbolic, and delightful.

EDA LOU WALTON

The History of Intelligence

Rational Evolution. By Robert Briffault. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

THIS is another outline of history, starting with prehistoric man and ending with a preachment for the present. Since we have started with H. G. Wells and allowed ourselves to be taken for a ride with Oswald Spengler, it may be just as well that there are others to see us through. In the end we may have a fairly exhaustive array of possible doctrines and biases, and we shall learn to recognize them even when they are dressed up with the gadgets of scholarship. We may even learn to debunk the debunkers and trust our own judgments and affections. It appears at present that far from presenting synthetic pictures of history Mr. Wells and his successors are showing us how to take history to pieces and see how it works. The outliners are increasingly willing to let us see behind the scenes, and even to point out the particular set of strings they like to pull. We in turn are less easily shocked by bias and happy to take the spectacle for what it has to show us. This book takes orthodox history apart and shows us several very interesting novelties. It states its hypothesis in an early chapter, and that in turn is merely an explication of the title. Then it subsumes very select and very illuminating facts to illustrate the abstraction.

The thesis, or hypothesis, states that there has been very considerable progress in historical times in two respects: first, in material culture, and, second, in social justice. The basis of this progress has been an intellectual honesty which the author chooses to call rationalism. This rationalism is said to be Greek because it first came to light in Greek culture, but it turns out to be the sort of thing we associate with Voltaire or Tom Paine, although the author mentions neither of these as outstanding heroes. I mention them because they serve to point out which aspect of Greek culture he makes his standard.

The Oriental forbears of our civilization could not achieve intellectual honesty because they had priests who made and preserved various cults of irrationalism. The Greeks were never priest-ridden, so they gathered and examined the wisdoms of their neighbors freely and continually, but they made the mistake of ignoring facts, and thus remained pre-scientific in their rationalism. But even then they had the fruitful principles of it, which the Romans used to straighten out European law. The Romans finally fell for irrationalism in the form of an Oriental religion, Christianity, and this made them a prey to barbarism. Hence the Dark Ages. The Arabs preserved the vital principles of Greek rationalism and added an interest in fact. Moslem civilization was the birthplace of modern science and the Moslems were the rebuilders of European civilization. The modern period really begins with the Middle Ages, and the best we have in intellectual and moral culture, even to our ideal of a gentleman, is a legacy from Mohammedanism. This is the great novelty in the book. The rationalism of the Arabs passed into Christian thought and finally dispelled its dogmas, to replace them with the methods and cultural outlook of modern science. We have not yet seen the end of the process, but the vital rational principle is still at work in both our theoretical and practical life. It is to be seen in the scientific basis of industry and in the steady refinements of our social conscience. It is perhaps best seen in our recent shift from good intentions to intelligent opinion as the standard for moral judgments. We are still too tolerant of sincerity which is not expressed in intellect, but since rationalism is the principle of adaptation, we may expect to see any society based on soft liberalism eliminated in the next stages of the course of evolution.

The thesis is not new, nor in itself very interesting, but the use it has been put to in emphasizing the part played by the Moslems in European thought and manners fully justifies it as a historian's prejudice. This is particularly relevant for any students of the history of science who are sophisticated enough to doubt the orthodox nonsense that historians repeat about the relations of theology and science, and the freedom of thought in the Renaissance as compared with the Middle Ages. The minimum credence we can give to the evidence in this book would still make it necessary for historians of science and modern thought in general to look for more than they have seen in medieval theology. It becomes extremely questionable for anyone to conclude anything about the function or even the methods of science if he has not felt some peculiar gap, or, as this author says, some conspiracy of silence, in the account of the Middle Ages that we are asked to accept from the modern historian and student of the modern mind.

This book has many of the obvious faults of outlines of history. It oversimplifies and it preaches, but it also manages to throw light where light has been too long absent. It at least adds to our knowledge of our ignorance.

SCOTT BUCHANAN

Books in Brief

The Golden Grove: Selected Passages from the Sermons and Writings of Jeremy Taylor. Edited by Pearsall Smith. Oxford University Press. $3.50.

The cultural burden that posterity is obliged to carry becomes heavier each year: as a result, when we have decided that it is no longer incumbent upon us to read a given writer, or when the pleasure yielded by him is no longer sufficiently intense or sustained, we tend to neglect him altogether; the weight of his inferior work submerges with it all that is good. This process can be arrested only by critics and editors who can give us compact but discriminating selections. Mr. Logan Pearsall Smith has here performed that service admirably for the seventeenth-century prelate and controversial writer, once called the "Shakespeare of divines," Jeremy Taylor. In Taylor's case this service was peculiarly necessary. Mr. Smith writes in his fine introduction:

> All his works are old cabinets . . . full of trifles, but containing also much that is curious and of value; and if they are to be read at all, they must be read in selected passages and pages. For more than thirty years my eyes have been haunted by the glow of some of these jewels; in my ears have echoed, like the sound of far-off bells, the music of certain of his phrases, and I have long intended to make a selection from his writings.

A Jew in Love. By Ben Hecht. Covici-Friede. $2.50.

Many legends have grown up about Ben Hecht, not all of them to his good as a writer. One of them is that he has an extraordinarily facile pen. In late years his facility has carried him out of the field of serious writing to a large extent, and for a period his product was, in his own words, "peculiar swill" for the movies. With "A Jew in Love" he returns to serious fiction. At least one supposes that the book

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is a novel even though it is an insecurely constructed performance. It is difficult to be severe with Hecht if one has any taste at all for brilliant phrasing and excoriating analysis. In his study of the lecherous Jo Boshere both of these qualities are to the fore. Unfortunately, one can endure only so much analysis in a novel without becoming a bit bored, especially when analysis is entirely external. Boshere is literally picked to pieces in long analytical passages which slow up the story. The story itself is slight: the sordid love affairs of an egoist who lives in constant hell because he fears that his ladyloves either do not love him or only endure him by thinking of more desirable men. His fear drives him insanely to pry into their minds with all the viciousness of a small boy pulling the legs from flies. Hecht's attitude toward this despicable man seems to the reviewer to be one of hatred and fascination. At any rate he brings all his resources to bear upon his presentation to the reader, whose reaction must be "How brilliant Hecht is! How disgusting Boshere is!" There are remarkable isolated passages in the book, particularly a description of a minor character, Gabe Solomon, which comes nearer to epitomizing the Broadway type than Walter Winchell's column or Skolsky's tintypes.

The Child's Conception of Physical Causality. By Jean Piaget. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.

This is the last of a series of three volumes by the same author in the International Library of Psychology, Philosophy, and Scientific Method. The first volume was entitled "The Language and Thought of the Child" and the second "Judgment and Reasoning in the Child." They are remarkable studies of linguistic habits which we all have in various degrees of elaboration, observed as they first appear and analyzed in such a way that we could use them as we use Freud, to classify and recognize our friends. Their unique quality is due to the fact that the author is a psychologist who has achieved a certain degree of philosophical sophistication and has stated his problems in terms of the system of mathematical idealism developed by the French philosopher Brunschvicg. This means that his facts are arranged under an interpretative hypothesis which is clearly enough stated to allow his readers to criticize and reinterpret the results with some degree of precision. This is a new experience in reading psychology, perhaps worth passing on to friends who have been too often disappointed in psychology.

The Inferno of Dante. Translated into English Terza Rima Verse. With Introduction and Notes. By Lacy Lockert. Princeton University Press. $2.50.

The only trouble with this new translation of Dante into terza rima verse is that the translator has no feeling for verse. No advance has been made upon the several nineteenth-century versions in terza rima; and certainly there is no improvement upon the more recent one by Melville Best Anderson, which the present translator justly praises. The verse is halting and stiff, and the division by lines seems usually quite arbitrary. All in all, Norton's prose translation still gives the best impression that the original was the work of a great poet.

Undiplomatic Memories. By William Franklin Sands. The McGraw-Hill Company. $3.

President Cleveland appointed a stripling of twenty named William Franklin Sands to be second secretary of the American legation in Tokio. Thus was founded the diplomatic service of today, Sands becoming the first of our "career diplomats." His book deals in a wandering and highly personal fashion with the author's adventures in the Far East, his years as adviser to the Emperor of Korea, and his efforts to avert the Russo-Japanese war. His account makes excellent, often absorbing, reading.

Music

A Neglected Composer

IT is only to be expected that partisans of neglected composers should exaggerate their virtues and gloss over their faults. So it is only natural that on a first hearing the Bruckner Seventh Symphony seemed a less blinding revelation than we had been led by some to expect. I spoke with an Austrian musician recently who told me that for him the three B's of music were Bach, Beethoven, and Bruckner. But I think even a first hearing of this Seventh Symphony makes it fairly clear that we are not likely to make groupings of this sort.

The most surprising thing about this work is that it was written in the 1880's—later, that is, than the most advanced works of Wagner, whom its composer adored—although, except in orchestration, it contains hardly a trace of his influence. Written, too, years after the symphonies of Schumann and the First of Brahms. Written, finally, eighty years after the Beethoven "Eroica," which, in its chordal first theme, in its solemn, elegiac *adagio*, in its *scherzo* in typical Beethoven rhythm, it at times recalls. It is surprising because harmonically, rhythmically, contrapuntally it seems considerably less advanced than any of these works.

In preparatory thumbing of a score most of us can take in only the more prominent parts in the orchestral texture. We assume rhythmic and contrapuntal complications that we have not time to explore. This tendency is the stronger in the case of Bruckner because to the eye the pages of his score bear a certain resemblance to those of Brahms, and one takes for granted a somewhat Brahmsian texture. It is a disappointment to find that in performance one hears hardly any more than one saw. There are themes in works of men like Mozart, Schubert, and Chopin that are nearly complete in themselves: the accompaniment may supplement them, but they need no complement. In Bach, Beethoven, Wagner, and Brahms the force of an idea lies more often than not largely in its contrast with other ideas. Bruckner seems to give Schubert treatment to Brahms and Beethoven themes.

It is contrast, chiefly, that is lacking—contrast of one theme with another, contrast of the rhythm of one voice with another, contrast of harmonic and orchestral coloring. When two voices move symmetrically in contrary directions the contrapuntal result is never offensive; but this is a device that can be overused, and Bruckner never tires of it. He makes it his chief means of thematic development: the top voice carries the theme in its original version; the bottom carries its melodic converse, or vice versa. The result is lamentably lacking in rhythmic variety and opposition, and as a consequence, the effect of the whole work is somewhat flat. It is oversimplified, so that essentials as well as non-essentials are omitted.

This rhythmic and contrapuntal flatness contrasts strangely with Bruckner's sonorous Wagnerian orchestration. There are periodic unison outbursts of the entire orchestra—great, resounding statements of ideas essentially lacking in the importance that would warrant such expression. A great, long, sonorous tonic chord, with Bayreuth tubas, trombones, horns, and trumpets blowing fanfares, as at the end of the first movement, can be effective only if there has been something very different from the tonic chord in what has preceded. In this case there has been, unfortunately, nothing of the sort. So that the grandiose orchestration sounds merely inflated.

Great works have often been pronounced platitudinous on first hearing, of course. Many of Brahms's works, and notably the last works of Beethoven, have meant little to

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many until they were known intimately. It may be that Bruckner's music is, as Josh Billings said of Wagner's, better than it sounds. It may be that the Mass which is said to be slated for performance next year will reveal a significance greater than that of the Seventh Symphony. Bruckner is, in any case—this much is clear from a single performance—not a man to be completely neglected, as he has been hitherto. Like Fauré and Elgar, he has had recognition almost exclusively in his own country, and it may well be that neglect of his works has been due to our shortcomings more than to his. It is to be hoped that the apathy with which the Bruckner work was greeted will not discourage Mr. Toscanini from further exploration in neglected fields. ARTHUR MENDEL

Architecture

In the Cause of a Noble Bridge

SIX hundred feet high, on the tower of the new Hudson Bridge, you can have some experience of the majesty of steel. The openness makes it seem higher than a thousand feet of solid skyscraper. The breeze wafts up from below; and through the lattice work of the great steel members the water shines, far underneath, with a flat rippling dazzle.

I was there on a storm-threatening August day. The sound was the whir and grind of the great cable-drums, and the *tsish, tsish, zing* of that incredible traveling wire: a wire so hard that you seek in vain to bend a small piece of it in your hand. No friendly ticktack of masons, or mortar smell, but in your nostrils the mixture of metal and warm oil. The Palisades opposite stood clear in the gathering gloom, but the city below was all in haze, and up the Hudson it was already black, and distant booms of thunder mingled with the whispering *tsish, tsish,* as if to remind you of the eternal grimness of bridges. Of John Roebling killed, his son Washington paralyzed, and scores of workmen lost.

So out on the catwalk under the great cable I found myself struck with awe before a heroic past, much as Rousseau was as he walked the three dizzy levels of the Roman Pont du Gard at Nîmes: "I felt lost like an insect in the immensity of the work. I felt, along with the sense of my own littleness, something nevertheless that seemed to elevate my soul; I said to myself with a sigh: 'Oh, that I had been born a Roman!'" Dream on, Rousseau, of your Mediterranean antiquity: but it's the tide of the great Atlantic we are straddling here; we are Americans; and it was weakness of Rome to require eleven ponderous steps for a distance of 850 feet—less than a sixth of a mile—when this cable before me clears 3,500 feet —two-thirds of a mile—at a single perfect throw.

To every age its own monuments, and its own material. In Rome, the Pantheon and the famous Roman cement. In medieval France, Chartres and Amiens, as last words in stone and glass. In modern America, bridges and steel.

For structural steel as well as modern engineering was born on bridges; the skyscrapers are merely the children; the structural shapes for all of them are still fabricated in the bridge shop. Among bridges the most beautiful are those of the modern suspension type, which are also the special pride of America, having been invented by James Finley in 1796, established by Roebling once for all fifty years ago, and now brought by such men as Modjeski and Amman to their present high perfection. And here, too, is steel in its finest promise: the cable—steel in tension. Twenty times stronger than the girder, the cable may yet liberate and expand all the construction of the twentieth century as the girder did that of the nineteenth.

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Yet the perfection of a fine bridge does not flow automatically—as has too often been inferred—from the logic of pure engineering. Something deeper is required. In fifty years we have acquired but one masterpiece: the superb suspension bridge at Camden, of which the architect was Paul Cret. That the new Hudson Bridge should be nearly as fine, just as it stands; that people seeing it should be surprised at their own surprise—all this is one of those rare miracles when arrangement and proportion seem suddenly to strike on a full chord, so that the idea which was implicit comes forth as a revelation, and justifies a century of labor and sacrifice.

The consulting architect of the bridge is Mr. Cass Gilbert. Being a medievalist, he has somewhat of a stone eye. But let us hope he can be persuaded to let his bridge stand impressive and complete as it is. A stone veneer now can do nothing but kill the idea for the sake of a remote dream. Indeed, the genuine stone of the Palisades looks affectionately today at the water of the river, the wood of the trees, and the steel of the cable and towers—for what is steel but earth that has tasted the fierce modern fire?

Douglas Haskell

Drama

Barrie's Problem Play

THE revival of "The Admirable Crichton" by Walter Hampden, Fay Bainter, and an all-star supporting cast (New Amsterdam Theater) is no occasion for discussing the merits of this play. So far as I can see, it never had any beyond the very considerable ones of clarity, symmetry, and a sort of sensible grace. Add that with the passage of a generation the clarity has become transparency, the symmetry has become neatness, and the grace has become innocence, and it will be plain that no one should expect to find himself excited either by the form or by the meaning of the piece as it now makes itself known. A generation of novels and plays which have shown society standing upside down might be thought a preparation for this return of "The Admirable Crichton," wherein Barrie once flirted with the notion of an equivalent upheaval. But he suffers by the preparation, and by the comparison. Lady Mary's speech at the close—"So much the worse for England!"—might once have sounded important, even a trifle daring. It is now the merest whisper after a storm. No, one may go to see Mr. Hampden and his cast with complete assurance that one's mind and heart will suffer no assault. Every situation, almost every speech, will be anticipated long before it arrives, and when it arrives, it will make only the meagerest demands upon one's powers of attention.

To say as much is to say, in fact, that "The Admirable Crichton" is perfectly suited for an all-star revival. On such an occasion it is obviously the acting that we go to see; and it will be well if we do not have to think or feel too strenuously, if in other words we do not have to become absorbed in the play itself. So was it a few years ago when John Drew, Pauline Lord, and a dozen others performed "Trelawney of the Wells." So is it now. I could sit through a long performance the other night and never for a moment wish it shorter. The pace was leisurely and deliberate. Each member of the cast was given all the time he wished for making this gesture, for raising that eyebrow, for intoning some phrase or other. Every actor was good; therefore he had the confidence of the audience from the beginning; therefore he could endlessly indulge his love of the miming art. It was as if a group of experts had gathered themselves privately together for the purpose

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*Grand Hotel—National—W. 41 St.
*Green Grow the Lilacs—Guild—52 St. W. of B'way.
‡Meet My Sister—Shubert—44 St. W. of B'way.
*Miracle of Verdun—Beck—45 St. W. of 8 Ave.
*On the Spot—Forrest—W. 49 St.
†Once in a Lifetime—Music Box—W. 45 St.
†Private Lives—Times Square—W. 42 St.
*The Admirable Crichton—New Amsterdam—W. 42 St.
*The Barretts of Wimpole Street—Empire—49 St. and B'way.
†The Greeks Had a Word For It—Harris—42 St. W. of B'way.
*The Green Pastures—Mansfield—W. 47 St.
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* Drama. † Comedy. ‡ Musical.

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Wien Die Stadt Der Lieder—Little Carnegie—57 St. E. of 7 Ave.
Transport of Fire—8th Street Playhouse—52 W. 8 St.
Trans-Lux—Modern Theatre—58 St. at Madison Ave.
Tabu—Central Park—59 St. and 7 Ave.
Ingagi—Central—47 St. and B'way.

Music

Little Theatre Opera Company, Brooklyn Little Theatre, Smetana's "The Bartered Bride," week of March 18.
Yehudi Menuhin, violinist, Carnegie Hall, Fri. eve., March 20.
Paul Robeson, baritone, Carnegie Hall, Sun. eve., March 22.

Lectures and Discussions

Against a Background of Social Change—The Individual, The State and the Law. Saturday, March 21, 12:45, Hotel Woodstock—L. I. D. Luncheon-Discussion.
Is the Program Presented by the Fish Committee Practical?—Hamilton Fish, Jr. vs. Norman Thomas, Cooper Union, Thursday, March 26, at 8:15.
The Art of Writing a Novel, Konrad Bercovici—Auditorium—150 W. 85 St., Tues., Mar. 24, at 8:30.
The Future of the Talkies, Gilbert Seldes—Auditorium—150 W. 85 St., Sun., Mar. 22, 4:30.

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of giving pleasure to connoisseurs. The connoisseurs could lean back through a slow evening, sipping the various excellences as they were carried on. I have rarely been so much delighted in the theater. Mr. Hampden was at his best as Crichton, and I think his best is very good. He has been accused of solemnity in the part. But the part is solemn. And I should like to know who else could have made the exits that Mr. Hampden made from the reception room of Lord Loam—the back of his head expressing something different every time, and expressing it with a wonderful skill. Miss Bainter as Lady Mary was proud and scornful in exactly the proper degree. Hubert Druce as Lord Loam was always a joy to behold. And Effie Shannon as Lady Brocklehurst injected just the amount of electricity into the fourth act that the fourth act needed.

The new comedy by Rachel Crothers, "As Husbands Go" (John Golden Theater), will undoubtedly have the success that Miss Crothers usually has. It is full of clever lines, nice people, clear sentiments, and intelligent perceptions. But I fancy that it will go the way of its predecessors—out of the memory. Somehow or other the works of this gifted playwright are more ephemeral than they ought to be—or than they ought apparently to be, for the laws of forgetfulness are probably as just as they are inexorable. Pressed for a reason in the present case, I should perhaps say that Miss Crothers has everything a comic writer ought to have except a dash of madness in her laughter. She is too simply wise. She knows as much at the beginning of a play as she does at the end, and so the impression at the end is that she has done no more than work out certain details of truth. Her situation here is rich in possibilities, and it is easy to imagine a vulgar writer doing awful things with it. Two ladies of Iowa return from a summer in Paris during which they have fallen in love not only with Paris but with two European gentlemen. The gentlemen follow them home, and we are treated to the spectacle of Europe and America looking at each other. It is easy, as I have said, to imagine a vulgar writer taking sides. Miss Crothers does not take sides. But in the very levelness with which she scrutinizes the scene there is a lack of that passion which is quite as necessary in comedy as it is in tragedy, and which makes the best comedy one of the best things in the human world.

Ed Wynn has returned to the Majestic Theater with his fine piece of utter foolishness, "Simple Simon," and at the New Yorker Theater there has opened a rather dull mystery play called "Gray Shadow," by Roger Wheeler.

MARK VAN DOREN

Contributors to This Issue

VISCOUNT CECIL, one of the most distinguished of British statesmen, is known throughout the world for his work in behalf of disarmament by international agreement.

ELISEO VIVAS is a member of the department of philosophy at the University of Wisconsin who has been intimately connected with the work of the Experimental College.

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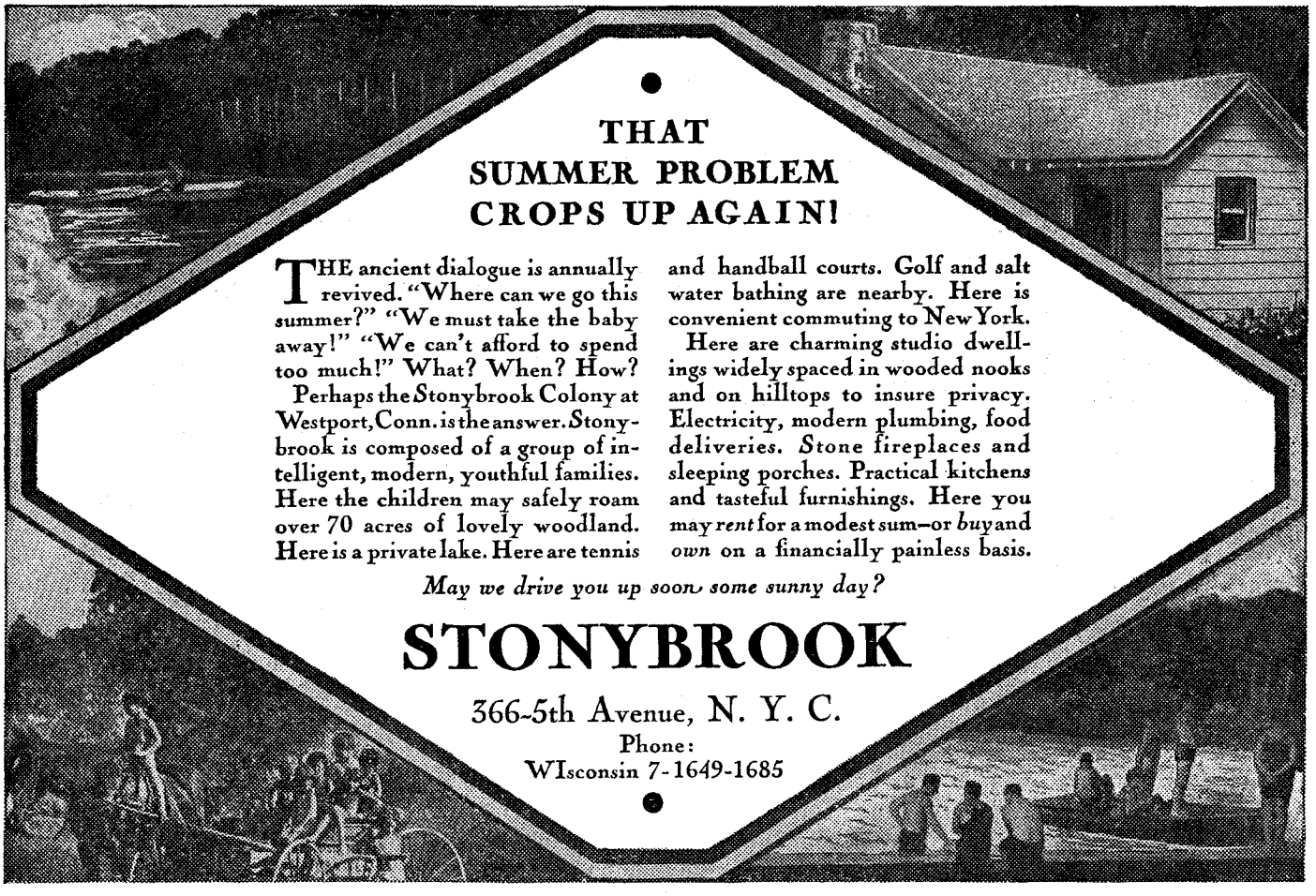
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